


Max J. Friedländer
Early Netherlandish
Painting

Hans Memlinc and
Gerard David

Early Netherlandish Painting

'This new edition, translated from the German, brought up-to-date in some respects and augmented by about two-thousand new illustrations, will not so much revive (which would not be necessary) as make more readily accessible, more useful and, if only by way of comparison with the original, more pleasurable one of the few uncontested masterpieces produced by our discipline. These fourteen volumes—their publication begun at Berlin in 1924 and, after the appearance of Vol. XI in 1933, continued at Leyden from 1935 to 1937—summarize and conclusively formulate what M. J. Friedländer knew and thought about a field which he, with only Ludwig Scheibler and Georges Hulin de Loo to share his pioneering efforts, had been the first to survey and to cultivate. And what M. J. Friedländer then knew and thought will never cease to be worth learning.' (From the Preface by E. Panofsky)

Hans Memlinc and Gerard David



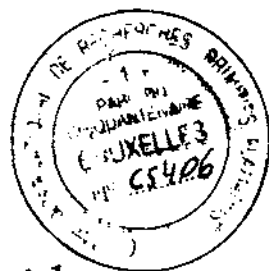
Max J. Friedländer

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VOLUME VI

PART I

Max J. Friedländer



Hans Memlinc and Gerard David

COMMENTS AND NOTES BY

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Foreword

We come to Hans Memlinc and Gerard David who, following upon and in part overlapping each other in the periods of their activity, dominated Bruges between 1470 and 1520. Since we shall pay heed as well to the lesser Bruges masters, nearly contemporary with Memlinc, a half-century of local history should necessarily emerge, the more so since relatively much of the Bruges output has come down to us. Our picture need not be painstakingly formed from a meagre store. Indeed, the wealth of mutually confirmatory evidence makes it easy to encompass the various personalities. Difficulties arise only in the question of sequence, in ordering the works by their time of origin.

Of pictures there are many. I am unable to offer illustrations of all of them. The choice open to me was either to omit major works that have been often reproduced, or to do without little-known pieces, not yet noted in art criticism. In the end, I arrived at a compromise, choosing to illustrate the text with typical examples of every phase and stage on both sides and favouring—*ceteris paribus*—lesser-known paintings, while not shrinking from reproducing renowned major work only incompletely or not at all.

Almost all of Memlinc's work is shown in the widely circulated volume of the series *Klassiker der Malerei* [11]; and in respect of Gerard David, Bodenhäusen's excellent book offers complete documentation, within the limits of the author's knowledge. I have endeavoured to include here reproductions of the works that were not known to Bodenhäusen.

The Life of Memlinc, and the Origins and Development of His Art

11

Memlinc's fame is different in kind from that of any other Netherlandish painter of the 15th century. An odour of learned connoisseurship clings to all the other names, even that of Jan van Eyck, while Memlinc has become a truly popular figure, having gained a universal currency almost banal in character and thereby provoking the protest of connoisseurs. The master did not always enjoy such favour. By 1600 his fame had paled. Van Mander is conspicuously ill-informed about him.

Early in the 19th century, when romantic nostalgia sought solace in primitive art and the gates were pushed ajar, the figure of Memlinc emerged ahead of all the other early Netherlanders, both for outward and inward reasons. There was no question of his identity at all, for several of his creations, authenticated by inscription, stood assembled in the Hospital of St. John at Bruges, a town capable like no other of satisfying the desires of devoted enthusiasts and of deepening their ardour.

Almost everything else we know about early Netherlandish art has been painstakingly assembled piecemeal by critics and connoisseurs. Only the art of Memlinc stood ready and open to all at its place of origin, within its original frame, so to speak; for the miraculously preserved shell of the town closes around the Memlinc panels, engendering a mood conducive to their understanding. Yet these favourable circumstances would not alone have explained the early emergence of Memlinc, but for the fact that the very nature of his art accorded with 19th-century tastes. If it was comprehended more promptly and readily than any other early Netherlandish works, this was because it was gentle and seemly by comparison, devout without being fanatical. Memlinc was heralded as the Fra Angelico of the North. And the Germans, in their early explorations of 15th-century Netherlandish art, may have been attracted to Memlinc precisely because he was not really a Netherlander at all, but a German, even though they were not aware of it.

In terms of the place where he worked, Memlinc was a Flemish painter, and only by origin a German. We shall have to consider carefully whether and in what measure he was also German in the style of his art.

In the oldest writings and in some documents, Memlinc is called *Hans*. Vaerne-wyck¹ describes him as *der Duytsche Hans*, while Vasari and Guicciardini garble the German name into *Hausse* and *Ausse*. In 1889, Henri Dussart discovered a manuscript by the historian Jacob de Meyere in the library at St. Omer², with excerpts from the Latin diary of Rombout de Doppere, who was notary at the church of St. Donatian at Bruges in Memlinc's time. An entry of 1494 reads: *Die xi augusti, Brugis obiit magister Johannes Memmelinc, quem praedicabant peritissimum fuisse et excellentissimum pictorem totius tunc orbis christiani. Oriundus erat Magunciaci, sepultus Brugis ad Aegidii.*

These data are entirely plausible. Flemish local patriotism got into something of a dither about it, but was unable to adduce any weighty counter-evidence. Memlinc was born in or at least near Mainz. As it happens, there is a small place near Mainz called Mömlingen. It is certain that Memlinc's family came from the Middle Rhine

1. *Historie van Belgis*, 1534 [2].

2. *Annales de la Société d'Émulation de Bruges*, 1891.

and at least probable that his own home was in or near Mainz, where he may have spent his apprenticeship, travelling down the Rhine as a journeyman to seek out the great painters.

The year of Memlinc's birth has not come down to us. We shall find reasons for putting it at about 1433. If this is near the mark, his wanderings must have fallen around 1450. At that time, Rogier van der Weyden was the ruling master in the Netherlands, working in Brussels, where he died in 1464. Memlinc's presence in Bruges in 1466 is a matter of record. He is mentioned as *Johēs de Memlijnc*, his abode being given as *Wulhuusstrate*, in the precinct of St. Nicholas. By then he may well have been residing in Bruges for some time. No documents have survived that would show him as having acquired local citizenship or master's status. Weale examined the archives with the greatest care, and we are in his debt for this work³. He explains Memlinc's absence from the guild registers by the fact that the master was in the service and under the protection of Charles the Bold and thus under no necessity for joining any town guild. There is, however, no proof whatever that Memlinc actually was in this duke's service.

Sometime between 1470 and 1480, Memlinc married Anna de Valkenaere, who died soon, in 1487. When he died himself in 1494, he left three children, all under age. His presence in Bruges between 1478 and 1491 is attested by documentary entries relating to his work, real property and tax payments.

The membership register of the Bruges painters' guild begins with the year 1453. Memlinc is not listed in it, but at the admission of two masters mention is made that they were his apprentices—Annekin Verhanneman in 1480 and Passchier van der Mersch in 1483. Dare we conclude, from the silence of the records, that Memlinc became a master in Bruges before 1453?

The number of Memlinc's works that are authenticated by inscription is large enough to provide a clear picture of his style and thus a reliable basis for attributions by stylistic analysis. There are comparatively many altarpieces and individual panels in respect of which his authorship is established by general consensus. We may thus straightway embark upon a consideration of his works, without going to the trouble of justifying his authorship in detail in every case. Along the way, we shall endeavour to establish their chronological sequence by every available means, to enable us to understand the origins and development of his style and his relationship to his predecessors. I shall bring together those of his pictures that agree in theme, in parallel series, so to speak, that will corroborate and supplement each other, thus giving an idea of the road he travelled.

Soon after the year in which Memlinc first emerges to our eyes in Bruges, he apparently created the altarpiece with shutters now preserved at Chatsworth, the possession of the Duke of Devonshire (10, Plates 37-40). Often exhibited in London and elsewhere, it was commissioned by the British nobleman, Sir John Donne, who is shown kneeling in the centre panel, with his wife and daughter. This much is established by the armorial bearings. Sir John wears the chain of an order established by King Edward in 1461, and he fell on 26th July 1469 at the battle of Edgecote. Hence the work must have been done sometime between 1461 and 1469, probably in 1468, the year in which a contingent of high-born Britons came to Bruges on the occasion of the marriage of Charles the Bold to Margaret of York. In addition to

3. Better than in his own books, Weale's findings are presented in the *Memling-Studien* by F. Bock (Düsseldorf, 1900), in proper order and with a critical commentary.

the daughter who is shown, Sir John had two sons, not shown in this devotional picture perhaps for the reason that they did not accompany their father to Bruges.

G. Hulin⁴ proceeds on the premise that these sons would certainly have been portrayed, unless they were not alive at the time. This would mean that the altarpiece was done before the sons were born, i.e. before 1468, perhaps in 1466, and Memlinc might have been in England at that time.

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An examination of this painting gives us an excellent introduction to the master, firstly because we know its time of origin and can start at the beginning, so to speak, and then because the theme was in harmony with Memlinc's talents. There is the additional advantage of comparison, for it fell to him to undertake the same theme, or themes much like it, on more than one occasion. It sometimes seems as though Memlinc never did anything else but create such passive assemblages of divine, sacred and devout figures. This is not actually true, yet Memlinc's nature is most felicitously expressed in such representations; and when we think of him, the images that first come to mind are of such patiently waiting figures.

By 1468, Memlinc shows himself to be in command of his own personal idiom. At the time the titled Englishman gave him the commission, Memlinc must have already been a renowned master in his new home, if not the most renowned.

He is visible himself—the left shutter contains his self-portrait. There can be little doubt that it is the master who is shown as the man of mature years, in company with his name saint, modestly half-hidden, yet in a conspicuous place, an unmotivated figure quite out of context. We can judge his age and thus draw conclusions as to the year of his birth. He seems to be 30 to 40 years old, giving us a date around 1433.

The Virgin, upright, severely frontal, is seen enthroned in a flat-ceilinged colonnade. To the right and left stand Sts. Barbara and Catherine, with the donors kneeling. Two angels with musical instruments stand between the Virgin and the saints, serving physically and spiritually as intermediaries. The Virgin is decoratively framed within the brocade runner at her back and the Oriental rug at her feet. All the elements in this symmetrical and well-organized composition—the apple in the hand of one of the angels, the bright landscape visible between the columns and the brocade, with its swans, buildings, groves and bodies of water—are the master's permanent possessions, inextricably linked with the Virgin in his imagination. They all recur in later paintings. But precisely because everything recurs, because the master had already by about 1468 found solutions that satisfied him, because by and large he found no reason for major changes, our attention is directed to subtle differences, which rest on a slow and steady process of natural growth springing from practice and experience rather than on new resolutions, alterations in creative purpose or inward transformations.

To keep our view in perspective, we shall now adduce two works that depart far from the Donne altarpiece in subject matter, although they were done at about the same time or not very much later—the Danzig altarpiece and the Passion panel at Turin.

The eventful history of the Danzig altarpiece (8, Plates 26-31) is fully documented⁵. Painted in Bruges for the Florentine merchant Jacopo Tani, representative of the Medici, it was shipped to Florence but captured at sea by a Danzig

5. Warburg, *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. 23, 1902, pp. 250ff.

vessel in 1473 and exhibited as a prize in the principal church of that city. Florence was at war with the Hanseatic League at the time. In all likelihood, this great work was destined for a specific location in Florence from the outset, hence probably dispatched directly from Memlinc's workshop on its fateful sea voyage. It would, therefore, have been painted in 1471 or 1472.

Upon examining the features of the donors, one cannot doubt that *The Passion of Christ* in Turin (34, Plates 86, 87) was commissioned by Tommaso Portinari, for whom Hugo van der Goes executed his famous altarpiece. Tommaso is shown with his wife, whom he wedded in 1470, but without any of their children. Since their eldest daughter was born in 1471, we may confidently place this painting in the year 1470.

Lastly, we find the year 1472 inscribed on a panel in the Liechtenstein collection, a *Virgin with St. Anthony and a Donor* (64, Plate 107).

Especially illuminating among these works is the Danzig altarpiece (8, Plates 26-31). This triptych depicts the *Last Judgment*. Christ is enthroned as judge on a rainbow in the upper part of the centre panel, the Apostles on either side, with the Virgin as intercessor and St. John the Baptist. Up above are angels with the instruments of the Passion, below more angels with trumpets. Ensnared amid the field whence mankind is rising up is the knightly figure of an archangel who conducts the division with lance and scales. On the right, nude men and women are seized by demons and herded towards the narrow ravine of hell that fills the right shutter. The redeemed are escorted towards the left where, on the other shutter, they are welcomed by St. Peter, to ascend to the gates of heaven. On the outsides of the shutters are the kneeling donors, surmounted by the Virgin and St. Michael, shown in niches, in the form of statuary.

Christ enthroned coincides in every detail of posture and drapery with Rogier's world judge in the Beune altarpiece. Memlinc must have owned a drawing of this figure by Rogier, or perhaps a drawn copy he made himself. Could he have been in Rogier's workshop at the time the Beune altarpiece was done? This would have been between 1442 and 1450. Could he ever have attended the Brussels workshop, say at a later date? Apart from the figure of Jesus, Memlinc created the richly dramatic composition with its press and profusion of nude bodies in vigorous motion entirely by himself, in no wise dependent on Rogier, or at least not on any models known to us.

The single figure that has been clearly taken over is harmoniously fitted into the context. It points to the origins of his art, to the power over him that issued from that source. Nor is there any dearth of other arguments pointing to the proposition that Memlinc must have been Rogier's pupil, before he settled in Bruges.

In an inventory drawn up in 1516⁶, a picture among the art treasures of the Stadholder Margaret is described in the following terms: *Ung petit tableaul d'ung dieu de pitié estant es bras de Nostre-Dame; ayant deux feulletz, dans chascun desquelz y a ung ange et dessus lesdits feulletz y a une annunciade de blanc et de noir. Fait, le tableaul, de la main de Rogier, et lesdits feulletz, de celle de maistre Hans.*

A small altarpiece, then, the centre panel of which was done by Rogier, and the shutters by Memlinc. Assuming that the painters' names are given correctly, one may offer several explanations for their juxtaposition. Memlinc may have provided

6. Le Glay, *Correspondance de l'Empereur Maximilien...* Paris, 1839, Vol. 2, p. 479.

Rogier's panel with wings for some connoisseur. The parts may have had no connection with each other in the first place, being assembled only because they happened to be in the possession of the archduchess. Yet the most plausible theory must also be considered—that the altarpiece was painted in toto in Rogier's workshop, where Memlinc served as an assistant.

In an inventory dated 15247, the same picture is described as follows: ... *Nostre Dame tenent Nostre Seigneur nūz devant elle* ... And one of the angels is described as having *une espée en sa main*. The Virgin, holding the body of Jesus before her—we do not find this infrequent form of composition in Rogier's work, but we do find it in Memlinc's, not merely once (37, Plate 89), but in two specimens that are in rather close agreements 131. The circumstance that Memlinc used this theme, presumably freely adapted from Rogier, may serve to confirm the inventory note and support the idea that he was actually in Rogier's workshop when such a picture was executed there, with his aid.

Both Guicciardini and Vasari bracket the names of Rogier and Memlinc, describing the younger master as a pupil of the elder. Lastly, a document relating to the Cambrai altarpiece⁸, i.e. the triptych done in Rogier's workshop between 1455 and 1459, mentions a *jone pointre Hayne* who is paid for certain paintings—*autour dudit tabliau*. That this Hayne was identical with Hans Memlinc has not been established, indeed, must be considered doubtful, from the spelling of the name and the description of the work. Presumably he was not an assistant of Rogier at all, but a Cambrai painter who was hired to do some decorative painting after the altarpiece had been installed.

Documentary sources can go only so far and are not as significant as are relationships between pictorial elements. The Christ in the Danzig *Last Judgment* (8, Plate 27) is not an isolated instance. In the measure that comparison is possible from the surviving pictures, Memlinc proceeds from forms that were originally given shape by Rogier. And one reason why this dependence suggests Memlinc must have spent a time in Rogier's workshop is that the two masters, in temperament and character, differed fundamentally, one from the other. They went in different directions. There was between them no basic affinity that might have brought them closer together.

Hulin de Loo has recently endeavoured to harden the links between Rogier and Memlinc, by drawing attention to three panels that were, according to his astutely argued views, executed by Memlinc in Rogier's workshop⁹. One is the fragment of an *Annunciation*, currently in the possession of a London art dealer (99A, Plate 125); another is an *Adoration*, in the Prado (99C, Plate 125); and the third a *Presentation in the Temple*, preserved in the Czernin gallery in Vienna (99B, Plate 125). There is much in favour of the proposed association of these three panels. They are stylistically related to one another and to known compositions by Rogier, more specifically the St. Columba altarpiece; and Hulin rightly suggests that a pupil of Rogier must have done this altarpiece. Also correct is his observation that the portraits of two girls inserted into the *Presentation* stand out from their context by virtue of their superior verisimilitude and were presumably done by Rogier himself.

There is only one argument in Hulin's exposition I cannot accept. He compares the patterns of the tile floors and remarks that the complex design in the Vienna *Presentation* recurs in the Paris *Annunciation*¹⁰ which he regards as Rogier's work.

7. *Revue Archéologique*, Vol. 7, 1850, p. 36.

8. Delaborde, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne*, I, p. lix.

9. *Burlington Magazine*, April 1928, p. 160.

10. Vol. II, No. 9.

But contrary to Hulin's argument, this pattern does not occur in Memlinc's acknowledged paintings—neither in the *Virgin with St. George*, in the London National Gallery (63, Plate 106), nor elsewhere. It is, however, faithfully repeated more than once in pictures by the Master of the Legend of St. Catherine¹¹. This does not mean that the Master of the Legend of St. Catherine is here nominated as the author of the proposed altarpiece assembled by Hulin. Yet I do regard him as Rogier's true workshop heir; and the fact that he used the pattern shows that it was employed in Rogier's workshop. Memlinc may very well have used it too, especially in his capacity as Rogier's associate; but he cannot be regarded as Rogier's only pupil to have used it.

What remains tempting and intriguing is a comparison of the following four *Adorations*¹²:

- a) Rogier's St. Columba altarpiece (Vol. II, 49, Plate 71).
- b) The small panel in the Prado (99 c, Plate 125), which Hulin regards as a youthful work by Memlinc.
- c) The centre panel of the great Memlinc altarpiece in the Prado (1, Plate 2), which I regard as one of Memlinc's masterpieces, from the time around 1470.
- d) The centre panel of the Floreins altarpiece in St. John's Hospital in Bruges (2, Plate 5), a signed work by Memlinc, dated 1479.

If the panel listed in second place, above, is indeed Memlinc's work, we can follow him as he frees himself of the model of Rogier, step by step. In studying this series, I am inclined to agree with Hulin's conjecture, even though Memlinc's personal style is not very clearly expressed in the small Madrid panel.

A study of the paintings Memlinc did in Bruges about 1470 confirms the view that he worked in Rogier's workshop for some time, probably during the years when the St. Columba altarpiece was executed.

No other acknowledged work of Memlinc tells us as clearly of his relationship to Rogier as the triptych in the Prado at Madrid (1, Plates 1-3). The centrepiece shows an *Adoration* that harks back to Rogier's St. Columba altarpiece in certain elements, notably the posture and dress of the senior king. The *Nativity* on the left shutter is in part taken from the Bladelin altarpiece; and so close is the agreement—in attitude and posture of the child, and in the drapery motives of the Virgin's robe with its turned-up sleeves—that the master must have had before him either a drawing by Rogier himself or one made in Rogier's studio. The only major departure is in the Virgin's hands, which are directed upwards instead of being joined and extended downwards. Repeating the motive on one other occasion, however—in the small panel in the Clemens collection now in the Kunstgewerbe-Museum at Cologne (28, Plate 80)—Memlinc stuck even to the position of the hands in Rogier's model.

Memlinc's *Christ on the Cross*, in the museum at Vicenza (4A, Plate 16), follows the type created by Rogier. From all indications, this picture was done about 1470.

Another possible early work by Memlinc is a *Flight into Egypt* that was sold with the Schiff collection in Paris in 1905 (32, Plates 81 and 125). Its present whereabouts is unknown to me. The seated Virgin holds the Child on her lap and reaches with her left hand into a tree to pluck a fruit, an action reflected neither in her posture nor her gaze. On the right, Joseph is dipping water from a river in which his head is reflected. The composition is somewhat thin and tentative, and there is an unusual

11. For example, in the *Annunciation*, in the Bargello at Florence, Cf. Vol. IV, No. 52, Pl. 54.

12. Cf. illustrations in *Burlington Magazine*, loc. cit.

effort to capture landscape forms, qualities to be viewed as bespeaking youthful uncertainty and at the same time the stirrings of autonomy.

That the *Passion* in Turin (34, Plates 86, 87) was painted for Tommaso Portinari, probably in 1470, is shown not only by the portraits of the donors, but by Vasari¹³, who describes a small panel with a *Passion* by the hand of Memlinc, painted for the Portinari and formerly in the church of Sta. Maria Nuova, but then (i.e. about 1550) in the possession of Duke Cosimo de' Medici¹⁴.

An Italian of the 16th century may very well have described this panel as small, even though it is three feet wide and almost two feet high.

In the Turin panel, a manner of composition is openly and consistently carried out that was often used only apologetically. It is a manner Memlinc was fond of and used once again with equal consistency in a work that has come down to us—the Munich panel with *The Joys of Mary* (33, Plates 83-85). There was a natural desire for a complete narrative, for an explicit dramatization of the gospel stories, as practised in mural cycles, in stained-glass windows, in polyptych altarpieces, and in books, where the epic unfolds page upon page, picture after picture. But the Netherlandish panel painters found difficulty in meeting this need; for, once the picture surface was elaborated into a realistic semblance of three-dimensional space, the awakened sense of verisimilitude balked at representing in a single picture different scenes that followed one another in time. If it was nevertheless done, it was usually with a bad conscience, for example by subordinating subsidiary scenes in the background, in the distance, this spacing indicating intervals of time. Memlinc was less reluctant than his predecessors and contemporaries to accept this paradoxical juxtaposition of events separated in time, hinting at a more naïve sense of realism on his part. He showed the various acts and incidents side by side, giving each the same formal emphasis; and he organized his stage by means of natural and architectural sets in such a way that the sequential scenes never interfere one with the other. The more clear-cut the illusion of place, the more the beholder feels himself to be a contemporary of the scene witnessed—even though he could not very well be the simultaneous witness of events taking place at different times. Indeed, when the identical personage appears in two or more places of the realistically elaborated space continuum, the illusion vanishes, or is at least less than complete. There can be no unity of space in a panel painting without unity of time. We are reminded of the mediaeval mystery plays; and no doubt the painter's imagination was stimulated by the example of ecclesiastical drama. Yet there remains the essential difference that in a performance the temporal sequence of events, and with it the workings of cause and effect, can be expressed, which is not the case in a picture.

Memlinc sought to overcome this internal discrepancy by constructing a whole town and artfully distributing his scenes over various halls separated by walls, so that each incident has its own individual locale. True, this complex, calculated grid does succeed in organizing and isolating the scenes, so that each appears to be taking place in complete ignorance of the others, inviting the viewer to read the picture like a book. Yet the narrative becomes comprehensible only to one who is familiar with the gospel stories; and the massed buildings—this jigsaw of houses, turrets, walls and open lobbies—create an irritating impression.

The substantially larger panel with the *Joys of Mary* in the Munich Pinakothek

13. The subject is mentioned only in the 2nd edition.

14. W. Molsdorf (*Cicerone*, 1924, pp. 719f.) notes that the group around *Christ Carrying the Cross* agrees in some features with Schongauer's large engraving, and draws the customary conclusion that Memlinc must have known and used this engraving. This is quite unlikely, if only for the reason that the engraving cannot have been done prior to 1470. The most plausible explanation is that both artists drew on the same source—Rogier.

(33, Plates 83-85) was a donation to the tanner's guild by Pieter Bultynck in 1480, i.e. it was done almost exactly a decade after the Turin *Passion* (34, Plates 86, 87), with which it may be conveniently compared, both in intent and composition, thus contributing to our appreciation of the master's development.

The more recent panel shows an expansive and richly elaborated countryside, with human life loosely scattered over its folds and fissures, much like cut-outs on a stage. As in Turin, the town is built in a mixture of the Romanesque and Gothic styles, but here it has been pushed back into the middleground. Pride of place is given to a central *Adoration*, which is strongly accentuated. We have here a system of subordination, rather than of co-ordination as in Turin.

The picture with the Virgin holding the dead Saviour in the museum at Melbourne is dated 1475 (37, Plate 89). A replica in the Capilla Real in Granada (37a, Plate 89)—in which the positions of the Saviour's arms are quite different and the types and expressions are rather strange and austere—may have been done still earlier. The Virgin supports the body of her dead son before her. He is shown at half-length, as though rising from a calyx of white cloth, his eyes open in the sorrowfully inclined countenance, one hand pointing to the wound in his breast, the other cupped as though to catch the blood. The steep pyramid of this sculpturally conceived group is posed against a background of gilt on which, at the upper right and left, various heads, hands and tools echo the theme of the Passion in a curious broadsheet style. This sternly hieratic pictorial type is, in its archaic concept, scarcely the invention of Memlinc. As I have made plausible with the aid of an old inventory note, it goes back to Rogier¹⁵.

15. Cf. pp. 14-15, above.

The veneration of the Virgin pre-empted much of Memlinc's œuvre and gives the impression of bulking even more prominently than is in truth the case. By comparisons, we are able to trace back his representations of the Passion to the achievements of his predecessors; and as a result we cannot, for the most part, avoid the verdict that he lags behind in resoluteness and vigour of expression. But in respect of the paradisiac essence of modest, well-proportioned women—of female saints, angels and especially the Virgin herself—Memlinc's vision was so deeply permeated with ideals of purity, grace and motherly love that he was tirelessly able to give life to individual figures and sacred assemblages in rich variation, pleasing his contemporaries and earning a permanent place for his notion of 'beauty'. His sense of order and symmetry, expressing a spirit of complete equanimity, invested his virginal mother with an aura of sovereignty that has been readily acknowledged.

When we seek to bring chronological order to Memlinc's numerous Madonnas in order to comprehend the growth of his personal ideal, we find our best point of departure—apart from the Chatsworth altarpiece, presumably done in 1468—in the *Virgin with St. Anthony* in the Liechtenstein collection (64, Plate 107). It is marked with the date 1472. Passive, sorrowful and statuesque in her aloof isolation, the Virgin holds the languidly resting Child. This is the basic concept with which Memlinc began, varying it only slowly and almost unintentionally.

The devotional panels and altarpieces done between 1468 and 1472 cannot be properly described as youthful works, if the master was born about 1433. We must search for creations that would show a closer connection with Rogier, not only in

16. Cf. pp. 15f., above.

terms of borrowed compositions, or parts of compositions, but of formal idiom as well. In point of fact, there are pictures in which Memlinc's style seems not yet to have freed itself completely from the influence of Rogier—quite apart from the panels that have been hypothetically claimed for him¹⁶. We are inclined to assign these works to the long and obscure interval between 1450 and 1468.

17. Cf. Vol. II, No. 40, Pl. 62.

With the greatest assurance, I regard as a youthful work by Memlinc in this narrower sense a little known *Virgin with Child*, shown between two musical angels, that recently went on the American art market (59, Plate 102). The Virgin is enthroned beneath a painted arch within a Gothic colonnade giving on a symmetrically walled garden courtyard. This background arrangement, unfamiliar to the master, was demonstrably popular in Holland and Louvain. Usually Memlinc shut off the Virgin in the back with a brocade runner. Here, exceptionally, he did not. Her hands with their stiffly abducted thumbs, the gawky animation of the spindly Child—his wilful playing with the prayer book pages, his spasmodically curled-up toes—all this is quite in the spirit of Rogier, whose Huntington Madonna¹⁷ shows a child of similar posture and lineaments.

Memlinc reduced his motives to formulas to which he clung almost pedantically, with an inventive lassitude inherent in his somewhat mechanical approach. The child seated on his mother's lap takes standard form as early as the altarpiece at Chatsworth (1468) (10, Plates 37-40) and undergoes only minor modifications—although many of these—in subsequent works. In essence, one leg is extended or bent in side view, while the other, pulled up rather high, is seen from the front, the thigh foreshortened in perspective. Rogier spread out both the child's legs in the picture surface, extended or bent in parallel. Whenever Memlinc eschews his own characteristic form and adheres to the Rogierian tradition, we may with some assurance conclude that we are dealing with a youthful work.

In the *Virgin and Child Enthroned* in the Capilla Real at Granada (55, Plate 101), the child half-lies, half-sits obliquely on his mother's lap, and is seen in side view with the legs parallel and the toes curled, like the child in Rogier's St. Columba altarpiece. All this argues in favour of a relatively early work by Memlinc. The facial types and the arrangement of Oriental rug, brocade runner and background landscape follow the usual scheme. On the other hand, the nursing motive, the bare breast and the drooping kerchief are parts of the Rogierian tradition rather than Memlinc's custom.

18. Cf. Vol. II, No. 70.

Two other Madonnas in Half-Length, in the Friedsam collection in New York (52, Plate 99), and in the collection of Lady Ludlow in London (48, Plate 98), testify to Memlinc's close connection with Rogier. The small New York tondo, again showing the Virgin nursing (52, Plate 99), belongs to the well-known type of circular paintings, such as were done by the followers of Rogier and the Master of Flémalle¹⁸.

19. Cf. Vol. II, No. 35, Pl. 57.

The panel in the London collection displays a composition surprising in Memlinc's oeuvre. It bears all the earmarks of having been borrowed, and as it happens we are able, by comparing it with Rogier's Madonna in the Hess collection at Berlin¹⁹, to establish precisely what stimulated Memlinc thus boldly to depict an unexpectedly intimate connection between mother and child. The child's head overlaps his mother's cheek. His complex squirm, moving in several directions, does

not at all accord with Memlinc's nature—he tended to avoid the dramatic interplay of opposing forces and intertwined motives.

20

When we survey Memlinc's Madonnas, we can trace how he slowly grew beyond the soil of Rogier's workshop. Nor must we overlook the many works earlier than Memlinc, possible points of departure, that have perished. Thus we have no *Virgin Enthroned* by Rogier's hand, only reports that there was one, indeed, also a *Virgin with Two Angels*²⁰, i.e. something like an original of the representation Memlinc offered in so many variations.

20. In the Carmelite convent at Brussels, cf. Vol. II, p. 12.

Memlinc's relationship to Rogier alone is not a sufficient basis for dating individual works with any measure of accuracy. We can scarcely assume that the pupil defected from his teacher at a particular point in time. More likely Rogier's dominion gradually waned, while on more than one subsequent occasion Memlinc may have lapsed back into the traditional formulas and types.

Assuredly, Memlinc created Madonna panels at every phase of his development. We have a fair number of such pictures, some of them dated; and we can trace the master's growth by his changing attitudes towards this constant theme, although such movement as we perceive is slow and the distance traversed not very far. Starting-point and goal lie close together. Differences in expression and formal idiom are too subtle to be read from photographs, let alone halftone engravings. The Virgin grows more amiable, loses some of her austere and sublime character. We discern in the original paintings a course in keeping with what we might expect; and our expectation stems from a general knowledge of Memlinc's character. He was a successful painter. He was skilful and steady of hand, with a knack for gratifying the desires of his patrons. He was at the top of the heap in Bruges, at least between 1468 and 1485. Not until towards the end of his career did Gerard David begin to give him a run for it. Memlinc's formal inventory was just large enough for his needs, in terms of the visible world. There is no tension in his work, and in it the goad of ambition is not in evidence. The forces controlling his development are entirely predictable: growing assurance, up to a certain point, followed by a slackening of inward identification. He did not live to an advanced age, being probably no older than about 60 when he died.

In time, Memlinc accommodated more and more sculptural figurework in the framework of his paintings, together with leaf forms and decorations like metal filigree; but then, suddenly, a motive was added that falls outside the Gothic formal world and carries a touch of Italy and the Renaissance. Two Madonna panels, in Vienna (9, Plates 32-35) and in Florence (61, Plate 105), as well as the altarpiece with the *Resurrection* in the Louvre (7, Plates 24, 25), show festive embellishments at the top that must have reached the master from the South in some way. These garlands of foliage and fruit, held by nude children, are naïvely inserted into Memlinc's scheme as a purely external element. Rich ropes of foliage swing downwards to the right and left from the keystone of the round archway, joining two putti jammed into the soffit with the figures of two small boys each on the right and left, standing atop Gothic capitals. Between these garlands and the brocade runner, with which Memlinc was still unwilling to dispense as a foil behind the Virgin, he interposed an umbrellalike hood of fringed and tasselled fabric that flutters like a flag in a breeze. The Italianate motives of garlands and putti, together with the busy drape-

ery with which the master sought to assimilate these alien elements to his Gothic concept, bespeak a late origin. The fruit-laden Madonnas can scarcely have been done before 1485.

The Madonna recently sold to America (60, Plate 104)—it was formerly in the Gotisches Haus in Wörlitz—evidently presents a foretaste of the Madonna at Florence. There is the same round arch, but without the garlands and without the children in relief wedged into it, while the cloth of the canopy droops down rather limply. The ostentatious fur-lining of the Virgin's folded-back robe which shows below the knees in the Vienna and Florence Madonnas is a late motive not yet seen in the Wörlitz panel. That painting, a trifle constrained in overall effect, may have been done about 1480, around the same time as the Madonna from the Thiem collection in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum (58, Plate 104) and the one with St. George in the National Gallery at London (63, Plate 106). The smiling angel offering an apple has gained in serenity. The spiritual bonds between the elements of the group have become firmer.

In the Louvre triptych with its centre panel framing a *Resurrection* (7, Plate 25), as in the Vienna Madonna (9, Plate 33), the decorative element is less firmly motivated. It appears to have been painted at a rather late date, as confirmed by the slender mobility of the figures, their sinuous suppleness, as of dancers. The left shutter shows a *Martyrdom of St. Sebastian* (7, Plate 24), which we may compare with the individual panel in Brussels (45, Plate 96), probably done about 1470 and showing the same theme. The archers are austere, in the Rogierian sense, the head of the saint is turned to the front. The grave expression, the full-face aspect of the heads, the halting, angular movements—all these are seen to be marks of the early period.

Memlinc stood at the midpoint and pinnacle of his work in Bruges in the years 1479 and 1480—so, at least, it seems to us, for as the harvest of those years we have the altarpiece of the *Adoration* in the Hospital of St. John (2, Plates 4-7), the great *St. John* altarpiece in the same place (11, Plates 41-44), and the panel with the *Joys of Mary* in Munich (33, Plates 82-85). We may look both backwards and forwards from this point.

The Floreins altarpiece in Bruges (2, Plates 4-7), dated 1479, offers, in its three compositions when the shutters stand open, a variation on the larger triptych in Madrid (1, Plates 1-3). The Madrid work still shows a strong dependence on the St. Columba altarpiece—on the Bladelin altarpiece, when it comes to the *Nativity*—for example, in the postures of the Virgin, the senior king and the Child, and in all the figures of the *Presentation*. The Madrid altarpiece was done before 1479, possibly much earlier. Still, in some of its parts—for example, the kneeling figure of the second king—it coincides almost precisely with the Bruges altarpiece. Frugal in invention, Memlinc clung to certain motives over long periods of time. In composition, the Bruges *Adoration* is less awkward and more felicitously focussed than the one in Madrid, but this advantage may very well be credited to the format. The Bruges panel is not as large as the one in Madrid.

One senses a fully developed hand in every line. The basic concept has scarcely changed, although one does note an increment in amiable sincerity, a lessening in dignity and spiritual stature.

The Floreins altarpiece (2, Plates 4-7), elaborately subtle in the extreme, is still tied to the waning memory of the tyrannical teacher, while in the *St. John* altarpiece (11, Plates 41-44), done about the same time, Memlinc expresses himself with greater freedom. It manifests considerable change, especially in comparison with the Chatsworth altarpiece of 1468 (10, Plates 37-40). The centre panel shows an assemblage in symmetrical array, as in the older altarpiece, but the symmetry is broken up by changes in direction. One angel is shown in side-view, his opposite head-on. The heads of the saints are turned in various directions rather than being all shown in half-face, and the Virgin's countenance no longer forms a firm axis, in full-face. Slight inclinations lend variety to the overall picture, knitting relationships among the members of the assemblage. The Virgin leafs through the book the angel proffers her. The Child slips a ring over St. Catherine's finger. A measure of action has been infused into the ceremonious company. The figures, appearing somewhat smaller in relation to the hall, are positioned in depth to some degree. No longer is the composition shown in essence in a single relief layer, no longer is it balanced mainly in respect of the picture area.

The left shutter shows a *Beheading of St. John the Baptist* (11, Plate 43), the right one a *St. John on the Island of Patmos* (11, Plate 43). Faced with the—we may imagine—irksome challenge to depict an execution, Memlinc harked back to his teacher. The executioner, seen from the back, with his sharp turn of the head, his vehement muscular tension, his legs apart, his eccentric posture, follows the figure in Rogier's *St. John* altarpiece; and although it has been deliberately altered, it has the effect of a foreign element in the composition. Salome seems to stand a good bit farther back than the executioner. Nevertheless, he places the Baptist's severed head on her platter with arms extended sideways, as though she stood beside him at the same distance back—in other words, as in Rogier's composition.

Memlinc could have scarcely avoided encountering his great contemporary, Hugo van der Goes. On the occasion of the nuptial festivities the Burgundian prince staged in Bruges in 1468, the Ghent master entered into direct competition with the painters of Bruges²¹. In the years from 1470 to 1475, Tommaso Portinari was Memlinc's patron, just as he was Hugo's, during the same time. By temperament, the two masters were strangers to each other. Memlinc, fully assured and established within his own circle, was no longer young enough, moreover, to be able to receive any significant stimulation at the hand of the Ghent master's superior powers that loomed before him, daunting and unattainable. Nevertheless, as we are able to show, Memlinc took up compositional motives by van der Goes on one occasion.

Among the series of Memlinc panels assembled in the Capilla Real at Granada is a diptych (13, Plates 50, 51) full of figures crowded together in dramatic fashion, quite out of keeping with Memlinc's usual manner of composition. On the left is a *Descent from the Cross*, tensely pressed into its frame. The body of Jesus is shown at an angle, to the knees, closely held by three men in a boldly conceived arrangement. Their own bodies are partly hidden, and they loom relatively large, with agitated expressions, into the tight picture area, only their heads and chests showing. A similar composition, known from two mediocre replicas in Florence and Altenburg, apparently goes back to van der Goes²². The opposing shutter at Granada

21. Cf. Vol. IV, p. 12.

22. Cf. Vol. IV, No. 24.

depicts the Virgin with four mourning women and St. John, at half-length, the heads close together at two levels in depth. The picture in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin, painted on canvas by van der Goes, contains a related composition²³. The basic idea for the entire diptych also goes back to van der Goes. Memlinc used it more than once. A variation on the *Descent* is to be found in private hands in Leningrad (13a, Plate 49), one on the other wing at Schleissheim, showing only three mourning women. It may be a workshop copy (cf. Vol. IV, 7c, Plate 9).

In the symmetrical construction of his set pieces, Memlinc was inclined to depend on his own resources, but when it came to the expression of sorrowful compassion, the memory of Rogier came to his aid. Even after he had achieved autonomy of formal idiom, he reached back into the store of motives stemming from Rogier's workshop. Of the three *Lamentations* by him known to us, the one in the triptych from the Kaufmann collection (6, Plate 22, 23), lost by fire, comes closest to its great model.

Here the body of Jesus has been tipped into frontal view, one arm dangling, the other extended to the side. The second arm, unmotivated in its posture, was evidently taken from some other context. The Magdalene has her arms raised and her hands folded above her head. The large faces are profoundly soulful, with careful nuances in the expression of sorrow, silent grief, suffering and vocal plaint.

By comparison, the similarly arranged figures in the Bruges triptych (5, Plates 18-21) are weak in expression. The Kaufmann picture may have been done about 1475, the one in Bruges about 1480 and the one in Rome (36, Plate 88) at a still later date.

The *Annunciation*, in the Lehman collection, New York (26, Plate 79), dated 1482 on a frame now lost, belongs to Memlinc's masterpieces, at his pinnacle and midpassage. Hulin has rightly described this unexpectedly original composition as Memlinc's finest invention. A work of the middle period elaborated with particular care—it is unusually well-preserved, by the way—is the large Madonna panel with many donor portraits in the Louvre (66, Plate 109). In consistent lighting and weightiness, it is far superior to the early works, while its monumental character outstrips the late works. The Moreel altarpiece in Bruges (12, Plates 45-48) was done about the same time, i.e. around 1485. The somewhat overcleaned organ shutters from Najera, in the Antwerp museum (22, Plates 64, 65), rather empty for their size, are likely to have been done later rather than earlier.

A clear-cut and varied picture of Memlinc's late period—thus showing his final direction and summarizing his character and achievement—is offered by the following works that are dated by inscription or in any event susceptible to dating:

1487—The diptych in the Hospital of St. John at Bruges (14, Plates 52, 53), commissioned by Martin Nieuwenhove.

1487—A donor's portrait in Florence (23 B, Plate 66), part of a diptych 141 that includes the *St. Benedict* in Florence (23 C, Plate 66) as well as the Madonna at half-length in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum at Berlin (23 A, Plates 66, 67).

1489 (?)—The shrine of St. Ursula in the Hospital of St. John at Bruges (24, Plates 68-77), dedicated in 1489 and presumably painted immediately before.

1491 (?)—The large altarpiece at Lübeck (3, Plates 8-13), commissioned in 1491. The Nieuwenhove Madonna (14, Plate 52), a relatively large half-length figure,

may be regarded as the paradigm. Cool and light in local coloration, with an opaque, somewhat dusty red, it features an Oriental rug and a brocade cushion on the sill below. The Virgin is seen in full-face, her head slightly inclined, her cheeks cleanly rounded. The flesh, showing a healthy tinge of tan, is vigorously modelled, especially the Virgin's hand, holding a spherical apple. There is an air of serene dignity about her, yet she seems a trifle warmer than the earlier Madonnas, who have a worried look, old-maidish and slightly injured. The Child is neither playful nor languid and aloof, but rather in an intermediate mood bordering on the expressionless. The Virgin holds the Child in front of her—he is seated rather awkwardly. Nowhere does he extend beyond the contours of the Virgin's red robe.

The figure is poised within the picture area with the greatest felicity. The eye glides over rounded outlines and smooth bodies without encountering gaps or corners. An air of calm relaxation, well-being and equanimity issues from the smooth, unaccented forms. The Virgin's figure, shown at half-length, is comparatively full and substantial, typical of this particular period and stage in Memlinc's development. The space behind the Virgin is richly elaborated. True, she does not really need this elaboration and could just as well sit against a neutral, indeed a gilt ground. The back wall of the room is broken up with windows, open and closed, with a view of the countryside, with colourful stained glass, and with a convex mirror in which the Virgin is reflected from the back and the figure of the donor in profile. Memlinc outdoes himself in making a show of his skill, although in fact the deep interior has no organic connection whatever with the figure of the Virgin, neither in form nor lighting.

The Berlin Madonna (23 A, Plates 66, 67), dating from the same year, confirms what we have learned from the famous Bruges panel. The *St. Benedict* in Florence (23 C, Plate 66), which belongs with it, also shows advanced skill in the lighting, together with startling contrasts of dark and light, in addition to the three-dimensional fulness characteristic of its period.

The shrine of St. Ursula (24, Plates 68-77) is the outstanding favourite among Memlinc's works. All that makes up his glory and enduring appeal is distilled in the imaginative transfiguration of this work. The whole theme accords with his heart's desire—the tale of the virgin princess and her journeys, the clear-eyed innocence of the adventures that lead to her martyrdom, the many sisters that are like her. The architecturally embellished faces of the shrine invited illustration in the manner of a book, dictated a scale to which Memlinc's forms could do justice, while at the same time making fewer demands in respect of illusionism, monumentality and dramatic vigour.

The multiplicity of elements, the wealth of figures arrayed with casual ease, the colourful alternation of locale, the chivalric elegance of the warriors, the utterly inviolate grace of the young women—all these aspects invest the work with the ineffable charm that begot Memlinc's popularity.

The Lübeck altarpiece (3, Plates 8-13), Memlinc's ultimate statement so far as we are aware, graphically manifests the direction in which the master had proceeded from his starting-point in Rogier's workshop and the progress he had made along this road. In the centre is the Mount of Calvary with a colourful throng, a dense press in depth of horsemen, warriors and mourners. Its slender figures and skittish

horses make up an entertaining spectacle. Gestures and facial expressions are playfully and ostentatiously displayed—raised arms, parted lips. The head-on rigidity and the languor have been completely overcome. Spatial depth is put to use, heads are skilfully foreshortened, all is flowing movement, and chiaroscuro is employed to unify the composition. Yet these virtues exact a price. The figures are but casually assembled, nor is compassion centred upon the crucified Christ or the mourners. The whole painting lacks substance and tension. There is no spiritual focus.

A work of extremely late vintage is the small diptych in the Louvre (15, Plate 54), showing the Virgin with female saints, St. John the Baptist and a donor. The blurred forms may stem in part from the poor state of preservation, but the almost meretricious prettiness, the agile arms, the decorative manner in which the dresses flow together to fill the area—these are typical marks of the final period. This diptych is particularly closely related to the shrine of St. Ursula.

Our hither and yon of comparison, touching upon virtually all the master's major works, may have seemed confusing, but it has enabled us to emphasize two points: a certain sustained character on the one hand; and change on the other. Our separate examination of Memlinc's portraits will confirm this impression, while our third chapter will summarize our findings.

Memlinc as a Portrait Painter

Memlinc is the portraitist *par excellence* among the early Netherlandish painters—first of all, in terms of sheer quantity. We count more than 25 portraits by his hand, and this is but part of the original store. We have but few portraits—apart from those of donors in devotional panels—by the painters who flourished in Bruges at the same time as Memlinc. He was the favourite portraitist of Bruges society, receiving many commissions, especially from the Italian colony. It is no accident that there should be so many of his portraits in the Uffizi. The sitters were presumably members of Florentine families who served as merchants in Bruges for varying times. The Portinaris and Tanis, agents of the Medici, constituted the wealthiest and most powerful houses of the colony, and they came in touch with Memlinc at an early date, about 1470. It was for Angelo Tani that he created the Danzig altarpiece, a little before 1473. Tommaso Portinari had his likeness painted by him more than once. Apart from the donor couple in the Passion panels at Turin (34, Plates 86, 87), and the pair of portraits that went from private hands in Italy by way of the L. Goldschmidt collection in Paris to the Metropolitan Museum in New York (69 and 70, Plates 112, 113), Memlinc gave the head of Tommaso to one of the risen in the Danzig *Last Judgment*—the man on the archangel's scales (8, Plate 27).

Memlinc's art, and presumably his personality as well, suited the Italians, and his close relations with this alien element in the Bruges community reacted upon his work. He found it easier than the native Flemish painters to satisfy the exacting tastes of these spoiled, urbane patrons. Flexible and adaptable, he possessed the gifts with which portrait painters in all ages have made their fortunes. He was himself urbane, and he put the best face on his sitters. All of his men and women are, indeed, not merely individualized, but given expressions of dignity. They look alert and highly intelligent. Without sacrifice in likeness, he never did violence to his sitters' vanity. Without servile flattery, he invested his portraits with an air of integrity and thoughtful nobility on their own.

Like his teacher Rogier, Memlinc was rather limited in the types he created, and his vision fed on observation to but a slight degree. Yet his mind did not work in nearly so fanatical and stubborn a fashion as did Rogier's. Tolerant and equable in temperament, he kept it open, ready to receive new impressions. In shaping his types and compositions, he was able to accept alien art elements, and it was in portraiture that he experienced the infinite variety of the visible world.

In the long series of portraits, the following are dated:

1472 (?)—Tommaso Portinari and his wife, in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (69 and 70, Plates 112, 113). Both husband and wife look a bit younger than in the altarpiece by van der Goes, done about 1474¹.

1472—Male portrait, in the possession of a London art dealer (72, Plate 114).

1480—A supposed Persian Sibyl, possibly Maria Moreel, in the Hospital of St. John, Bruges (94, Plate 123).

1484 (?)—The Moreel couple, in the Brussels museum (67 and 68, Plates 110,

1. Cf. Vol. IV, p. 16 [5].

111). Husband and wife look to be of about the same age as in the altarpiece in the Bruges Academy, dated 1484 (12, Plates 45-48).

1487—Martin Nieuwenhove, in the Hospital of St. John, Bruges (14, Plate 53).

1487—Portrait of a youngish man, in the Uffizi, Florence (23 B, Plate 66).

Added to these are the following donor portraits in altarpieces that either are dated or to which dates may be assigned with more or less assurance:

1468 (?)—Sir John Donne, his wife and his daughter, at Chatsworth (10, Plate 38).

1472 (?)—Angelo Tani and his wife, at Danzig (8, Plates 29, 31).

1472—The donor in the Madonna panel in the Liechtenstein collection, Vienna (64, Plate 107).

1479—The donors of the *St. John* altarpiece, in the Hospital of St. John, Bruges (11, Plate 44).

1479—Jan Floreins, in the altarpiece with the *Adoration*, in the Hospital of St. John, Bruges (2, Plate 5).

1480—The donor couple in the panel with the *Joys of Mary*, in the Pinakothek, Munich (33, Plate 82).

1484—The donor family in the Moreel triptych, in the Bruges Academy (12, Plate 47).

1488 (?)—The female donors in the shrine of St. Ursula, in the Hospital of St. John, Bruges (24, Plate 76).

1491 (?)—The portraits in the altarpiece with the *Crucifixion*, in Lübeck cathedral (8, Plates 10, 11).

With the aid of the scaffolding provided by these portraits, we can complete the structure. Stylistic criticism enables us to date all the portraits with some measure of assurance. Memlinc's course of development begins to emerge.

A date has been assigned to the portrait in Antwerp (71, Plate 114), supposedly representing Niccolo Spinelli. In type the sitter appears indeed to be an Italian, and on the premise that he is the Florentine engraver of medallions—he holds an imperial Roman coin in his hand—who was briefly in the service of Charles the Bold, a date of 1468 or soon afterwards was justifiable.

Hulin, however, has put forward solid objections to this identification². He agrees that the sitter may well be an Italian engraver of medallions, but not necessarily Spinelli. Another representative of this craft, de Candida, worked in the Netherlands from 1477 to 1479; and in style as well as dress, so holds Hulin, the work fits a date of about 1478 better than 1468.

My own doubts go even further. The fact that the sitter displays a coin of the Emperor Nero does not seem to me sufficient proof that he was an engraver of medallions or seals. Why should he be showing an ancient coin rather than a work of his own hand? Perhaps he was not an engraver at all, but a passionate collector of ancient Roman coins. In any event, caution dictates that the Antwerp portrait be eliminated from the group that can be dated.

As for the type of portrait so fully expressed in the man with the imperial coin, this is Memlinc's creation, the one he made popular. Rogier had placed his portrait heads against a neutral—usually dark—background, isolating the personality and

2. *Festschrift für M.J. Friedländer*, p. 103 ff.

focussing attention upon it. Memlinc's approach is different. The head looms large, fitted tightly into the frame, of light coloration contrasting with the dark base formed by the chest. The upper termination runs close to the head covering, on occasion actually slices off the top of the hat. On the sides too the frame cuts off the shoulders. The visage itself, commonly framed in a richly curled head of hair, is about half as wide as the picture overall. The head is shown in half-face, but in such a way as to leave the averted side visible and only little foreshortened. One hand—rarely, both—is lifted above the lower margin, sometimes as though resting on a sill. The background is bright overall, allowing dress, hair and head covering to stand out dark, in sharp contours. Memlinc favoured a landscape background, and employed it with considerable regularity.

On rare occasions, there is a wall with a window in the background; but for the most part, the frame itself takes over the function of a window, and the portrait head, rising massively in the centre, hides part of the landscape view; but against expectations, it does not do so as a dark mass, averted from the source of light—no, it is shown in vigorously lighted flesh tints. Sometimes a balustrade at the back of the sitter cuts off the landscape background. Sometimes there are columns on the sides, parallelling the frame.

The landscapes are shown beneath a sky that lightens toward the horizon. Their perspective is such as to emphasize that a considerable distance intervenes. They break up the picture area, relate the sitter to the countryside and the world.

Memlinc neither saw nor sketched his sitters in the local context we see. His preliminary drawings from life were rather done in his studio, probably with the stylus. The actual composition, together with the background, was painted far from nature, in keeping with his chosen scheme. He liked clarity and to achieve it favoured diffuse lighting, such as he might have observed outdoors. He loved a gardenlike countryside, beneath a blue, lightly clouded sky, with loose foliage enlivened by highlights, with horsemen on white mounts treading winding paths, and with bodies of water on which floated swans. Man may have seemed to him a pitiable creature, indeed, dead, unless he were put into the context of his smiling and expansive homeland.

To show the hands—or at least one hand—within the frame was usually a requirement. The master himself believed he could capture the personality and fulfill his commission simply by showing face and hand. Yet his faces are moved to the extreme front, and of the rest of the body only the chest rises into the picture, as a kind of broad root, while arms and elbows are usually left outside the frame. Hence Memlinc's hands, drawn up high and crushed against the body, sometimes look unfree and out of organic context.

This, then, is the portrait type Memlinc developed in the course of his productive career. A few portraits, demonstrably done at an early date, show a neutral dark ground against which dress and hair stand out without complete clarity. Thus the Portinari couple, about 1472 (69 and 70, Plates 112, 113), and the male portrait, dated 1472 (72, Plate 114), which I saw in the possession of a London art dealer. Yet one must not pedantically declare every portrait with a neutral ground to be earlier than any with a landscape background. The man with the arrow in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (85, Plate 119), is shown against a neutral

although not dark ground. He, together with the man with the pink in the Morgan Library (83, Plate 119), was probably painted no earlier than 1475.

I regard the portrait of a man in a tall cap in Frankfurt (73, Plate 114) as Memlinc's earliest to show a landscape. Certain crudities and deficiencies in the line and the stiff and looming attitude of the head, which lacks animation, incline me to date this painting around 1470. The nose is too much in profile, the averted side of the face not sufficiently foreshortened. Hulin, moreover, calls attention to the fact that the lofty headcovering, often seen in portraits by Dieric Bouts, is nowhere else encountered in Memlinc's œuvre³. This does not much help the dating, for Bouts died as late as 1474.

I take the aged couple portrayed on two panels in the Louvre (76, Plate 116) and the Kaiser Friedrich Museum (75, Plate 116) to be an early work, although the landscape background, here set with columns at the side and a shoulder-high wall, is already well-developed. What speaks for an early origin are the somewhat stunted hands the rather flat faces elaborated mainly in line, and the hesitant use of shading. This is true also of the old man in the Metropolitan Museum (81, Plate 117), from the Oppenheim collection. The portraits demonstrably done around 1480 and later are marked by a firmer line, more vigorous modelling, and a greater sense of freedom.

The faces are turned towards the light. The shadows have fled to the cheeks, the ridge of the nose, the hollows of the eyes, and the space between nose and mouth, where they cleanly and gently serve to build up the rounded forms. In the course of his development, Memlinc enhanced the illusion of depth by means of broader and heavier shadows, as in the Moreel couple in Brussels (67 and 68, Plates 110, 111), about 1484, and in the male portrait in The Hague (79, Plate 118), drawn with uncommon mastery. The measure in which the master progressed in respect of his observation of light is shown in the portraits inserted into the Lübeck altarpiece (8, Plates 10, 11), with their seemingly gliding chiaroscuro shadows and their patchwork contrasts of light and dark.

Among the portrait panels hanging in our museums as complete pictures on their own are fragments from otherwise lost altarpieces, parts of diptychs and triptychs. They may be recognized by such characteristics as the donor's folded hands, or his being shown with a prayer book. In terms of expression, these donor portraits do not differ from the secular portraits. In both, the sitters look grave and collected.

A few of the donor portraits that are or originally were parts of diptychs or triptychs, for example the one of Nieuwenhove in Bruges, 1487, (14, Plate 53), shown at near half-length, body visible almost to the waist, include shoulders, arms and elbows in full extent. What mattered here was to develop the action of the hands as appropriate to the theme within the picture area. A comparatively early example of this genre is the young man in the National Gallery, London (78, Plate 117), with hands of extreme delicacy and nobility. It was in the gesture of worship that Memlinc found his surest hold, his ability to make a composition complete in itself.

Whenever the master coupled husband and wife as pendants, or when he placed them on shutters on each side of a Madonna, one of the heads is lighted from the

3. *Loc. cit.*

right, the other from the left. Apart from this correspondence in lighting, he joined the parts by means of a balustrade extending across both of them, with columns that also correspond to one another. We note this as early as the elderly couple in Berlin (75, Plate 116) and Paris (76, Plate 116). Here the balustrade runs parallel to the plane of the picture, while in the Nieuwenhove diptych (14, Plate 53) —Memlinc's grasp of spatial representation having matured meanwhile—the architectural perspective runs obliquely, forming a single chamber that encloses both the donor and the Virgin.

Memlinc individualized his sitters with searching fondness, but unobtrusively. The portraits are all distinct, one from another—the aristocratic youth in the National Gallery (78, Plate 117), with his innocence; Martin Nieuwenhove (14, Plate 53), vigorously sensual in character; the fierce energy of the unidentified man in The Hague (79, Plate 118); the phlegmatic satiety of the gentleman in the Brussels museum (84, Plate 119); Willem Moreel, also in Brussels (67, Plate 110), serene yet supercilious; Tommaso Portinari, in New York (69, Plate 112), the close-mouthed diplomat. In each case, the essential personality has been poured into the firm, translucent vessel of the portrait.

Quantity becomes quality, for the master, while adhering to a fixed scheme in his types, still proved himself an individual observer in his portraits. In his last work, the altarpiece in Lübeck (8, Plates 10, 11), the portrait heads are the best part. Confronted with the challenge of the individual, Memlinc was able to cling to a sense of freshness he was unable to maintain in the routine of composition.

The Character of Hans Memlinc

Looking back upon the works with their various dates, and putting my observations into order, I shall now endeavour to project Memlinc's character and his place in the context of history. In the process, his personality is bound to take on the significance the connoisseur of our day considers his due.

Born between 1430 and 1435, along the Middle Rhine, Memlinc learned his trade somewhere in Germany and then drifted to the Netherlands. Such was the wont of many German journeymen painters—although, as a rule, they ended up back home. Memlinc tarried and won a place for himself, together with a new home, in Bruges, the town that had been the scene of Jan van Eyck's work. He settled there by 1466, if not as early as 1453 or even earlier. Of the same generation as the Cologne Master of the Life of the Virgin, to whom he is closely akin, and whom he also resembles in kind and degree of talent, he acquired the superior skills of Netherlandish art, in Rogier's Brussels studio. He adopted the techniques, compositional approach, figure types and spatial concepts of his new environment and put himself in the way of living up to the standard then expected in the towns of Flanders, in such measure that he rose to high repute in Bruges, where he was given preference over his local colleagues, especially by the Italian merchant princes. The spirit of the age was all in his favour. A breathing space had come, and Memlinc's consistent exploitation of earlier achievements pleased the smug burghers as a development of their heritage. The thirst for power and conquest, which had borne in upon Netherlandish art from the direction of the Burgundian court, ebbed with the death of Charles the Bold in 1477. Henceforth it was mainly peace-loving men concerned with their property whose desires and inclinations set the direction of art.

To all appearances, Memlinc became a Netherlandish painter. Yet one still senses a difference between him and the masters whose roots were in the Lowlands. He never wielded his brush like one who has created his art from his own apperception. The essence of the Netherlands was not in his blood.

Originality in the highest sense—this quality we cannot concede to Memlinc's art. Its marks would be a kind of inward unity and consistency, in works that may be outwardly very different, indeed even untypical. The conflict between Memlinc's native predisposition, on the one hand, and the demands made upon him at the scene of his work, on the other, militated against truly organic growth, and thus a touch of shrewd calculation and tactful consideration clings to his style.

Memlinc never surprises, never overwhelms, never strikes the viewer dumb; but neither does he ever fail to turn out the expected product, at a consistent level of skill.

When critical gaze cuts through the outer appurtenances, it encounters an unsteady framework. True, Memlinc commanded the refined brushwork expected from the Flemish workshops, but his cool, bright, opaque tints are wanting in depth and fire. He never attained the highest measure of illusion in depicting materials, flesh, hair, fabrics.

His brush glided on with assured elegance, never tarrying longer than necessary. The goal was to be reached by the shortest route. Areas of even colour are spread out, giving a sense of harmony when the scale remains within limits, but creating a feeling of emptiness when it is large. Memlinc's observation was comparatively casual, taking in only what his sense of beauty needed to embellish the surface to be painted. Positive colours are juxtaposed, as in a flowerbed—a somewhat dusty red, on the cool side, hatched in the shadow areas; frugally rectilinear drapery, the blue often approaching hyacinth; greens, yellows and purples confined to relatively small patches; the grey wall surfaces covered with a light wash.

Memlinc knew his way in matters of perspective, lighting and the illusion of space, and he keeps offering us proof of his understanding; but he never tackled the larger task of consistently organizing an entire picture in terms of three-dimensional depth, filled with air, light and figures. His vision never bowed to any compulsion issuing from a visible context.

He approximates to nature in bits and pieces—a sharply foreshortened hand in motion, for example. Faces seen in portrait terms, like the old woman in the *Presentation* on the left shutter of the Floreins triptych (2, Plate 6), turn up rarely in the company of his high-bred, well-proportioned types. Formal knowledge entirely subserves a sound and steadfast sense of craftsmanship. Memlinc knew depth but had no need of it. He adorned his picture areas symmetrically and harmoniously as did the painters of Cologne. The art of Jan van Eyck remained remote and inaccessible to him—perhaps he did not even aspire to it. Working in Bruges, where Petrus Christus wielded the Eyckian heritage to the best of his ability until 1472, Memlinc shows no trace of the effect of van Eyck's genius. True, by the time he reached Bruges, he was a full-fledged painter, having taken over from Rogier whatever he needed—the coat that fitted him, the armour that shielded his flesh.

In my evaluation of Rogier, I was at pains to explain the means by which this master grew dominant rather than Jan van Eyck. The Brussels painter's clear-cut pictorial notions could be taken over. It was possible to copy his groups, types and postures without much risk of losing their value, effect and expression. A competent student could carry away with him from Rogier's workshop a good part of its contents in black and white. Hence Rogier's art spread out with high intensity, while that of Jan van Eyck kept its pristine magic only in the original form, for this master came before his time, and to the generations that followed him, he was unattainable, beyond copying.

Whether or not Memlinc had a personal relationship with Rogier, whether or not he spent any time in the Brussels workshop as an assistant or journeyman, his was an almost womanly receptivity in respect of the actively creative Netherlander. Memlinc was conquered, and he never quite liberated himself. If he achieved any autonomy at all, it was when he faced the challenge of the individual, when he painted a portrait; but when his pictorial vision had to deal with narrative, groups, types, he could never banish the memory of Rogier. The fact that he copied compositions in whole or part is comparatively unimportant, for repetition of the pictorial ideas of others was quite usual at the time and by no means ruled out original work. What is crucial is rather that Memlinc scarcely enhanced or renewed his formal idiom by the vision of his own eyes.

He was by nature the very opposite of his teacher. Rogier's knife-sharp contours ran counter to his sensitive temperament—the harsh, sculptural relief treatment, cold, positive tints, dramatic gesticulation of lean, angular limbs. His amiable disposition was at odds with Rogier's unyielding asceticism. And yet the stronger man put him in thrall. Nothing was left to him but to wear down the forms coined by Rogier, to soften their sharp lines, a process in which they were drained of detail, retaining satisfying abundance only when the scale is moderate or small. To gauge the schematic element in Memlinc's art, we must bear in mind the essential purpose of devotional painting, look at the subject matter with his eyes. It was his task to personify the Madonna and the saints, people he had never seen with his own eyes, albeit he had seen them in pictures. In his mind they lived in the shapes the older masters had given them. Art took the place of nature. Pictorial tradition eclipsed reality.

The Virgin must not look like this on one occasion, and differently on another. She was ever the same woman, never growing, never changing, never altering her attire, always in character, invariable in mood and hence in posture as well. She appears at two stages of life—as the youthful mother, full of concern, and as the *mater dolorosa*. To cast her divine, her sacred nature into some adventitious, individual form, to loosen the rigorous scheme by observation—that would have meant to profane the ideal, to disfigure it with impoverishment and deficiency. To the worshipful multitude, the individualized image was always malformed, while the typical bore the stamp of the higher life. Thus Memlinc's figures became reflections of earlier images.

The elements that hinder observation and imagination in devotional painting operate generally and in all times. Yet what stimulated and fired Netherlandish painting was precisely the desire for individual variety, the pleasure in life's visible richness. The struggle and conflict between observation and tradition may be followed everywhere; and every master may be judged by the measure in which he dared to take up reality into his work. The points of this influx are plain to discern. Jan van Eyck characterized in unlovely portraiture the unredeemed denizens of the earth and the antagonists in the divine drama, the executioners and adversaries of the Saviour; while he honoured the divine and sacred figures by investing them with 'beauty'—all the while preserving rules and standards. Whenever beauty was the goal—as in the depiction of youthful women—even a van Eyck shrank from the uniquely individual.

Memlinc the German had to learn a foreign tongue, and he learned it in Rogier's workshop. He needed a scheme, and he encountered no scheme save that of Rogier.

In Memlinc's time—and especially in Bruges—the urge for observed variety was inhibited even as the desire for even proportion and comfortably mild form was enhanced. This serves to explain the German's success, for he presented both traditional art forms and the observed forms of nature on a diminished scale, filtered and emptied them.

Memlinc's devotional panels are relaxed and without contrast. All opposites have lost their sharp edges—old and young, man and woman, God and man, the blessed and the damned, rich and poor, good and evil. Even the executioners, the adversaries of Christ, share in the general air of youthful innocence and amiable civility. Even

they are well-favoured, and the distortions of hateful malice move as but a small ripple across the smooth and even surface.

The master was a stranger to the pathos of solitude. He never experienced truculent withdrawal or the isolation of the eminent personage. To him, man was always a member of the community. He put together groups that are joined in a mood of brotherhood. His gregarious figures appear in rows, akin in mind, of equal though moderate intellectual stature, never in any way breaking rhythm and symmetry. Like the monks and the townspeople, the saints form a company. Jesus is not so much hero, champion, teacher and martyr as a beloved child, fussed over by gentle hands, or a loving and mourned son—in the narrow compass of the family rather than in cosmic grandeur. In Memlinc's devout vision, acceptance knew no struggle, dedication no doubts, no ecstatic crises. He saw the world of God in a state of paradise, as an assemblage of pure beings, their bliss best exemplified in pleasing forms. His creatures are accessible—there is no arrogance about them. Shy and coy at first, they later relax into smiling serenity and animated trust, bringing more and more brightness into the gloomy churches of the Flemish town.

Memlinc's narrative flows gently onwards, towards the happy issue of salvation and transfiguration, glossing over horrors and lingering over festive occasions. The light and shallow stream is never slowed or dammed by that piercing observation, intensive and intimate dwelling on form, minute elaboration of detail that sometimes invest Netherlandish panels with such depth and density, weight and rigidity.

Clean and orderly like his familiar humans, Memlinc's cheerful countryside beckons from afar, parklike and summery, with winding paths, white horses, still waters, swans, comfortable and livable houses, round trees and blue hills along the horizon—an idyllic homeland where the weather is forever fair.

Memlinc was neither a discoverer like van Eyck, nor an inventor like Rogier. He lacks the passion of vision, the fanaticism of faith. In purely material terms, he is not as dense as van Eyck, nor as hard as Rogier.

It has taken me many negatives to describe him; and indeed, his quest was largely one of evasion. Avoiding extremes, he achieved his own balance. Rounding off corners and avoiding anything that might give offence, he found his rhythmic harmony, the expression of a pure and loving nature. His lack of creative impact emerges only when one analyzes the structure, which means that Memlinc modestly and harmlessly skirts the danger zone, never challenges by boldness or daring.

Circumstances of time and place in Bruges about 1470 were such as to create a favourable soil for an art that is basically regressive. Rogier's forms had rigidified under the hands of mediocre imitators, had been distorted into caricature or mannerism. Intimidated by Jan van Eyck's overwhelming vitality, oppressed by the dramatic impact of Hugo van der Goes, people were glad to enjoy the sweet and ingenuous art of Memlinc on so readily accessible a level. Not that Memlinc, even though inclined to compromise, deliberately gave way before a bourgeois world that refused to rise above the average. It was simply that he was pure in heart and at peace with himself. Autonomous within his narrow compass, he struck a note of personal grace in his portrayal of figures and postures, radiating an air of ease and bliss, expressing faith in a world ordered by God and in a luminous heaven where transfigured beings led a life of everlasting peace. All earthly need has slipped

away from body and robe of his untouchable Virgin who, in her simplicity, never defends herself. She is the symbol and focus of his art, and it is she who commends the master to us.

To ensuing generations, Memlinc's works appeared pale and bloodless—until 19th-century Romanticism rediscovered this flower without thorns.

Supplement to Hans Memlinc

I view the creative work of Memlinc today essentially in the same light as in 1928. Since that time, moreover, none, so far as I can see, have made any significant statements about him that I am constrained to accept or reject. Only the beginnings of the straightforward career of this fortunate master offer any room for doubts, discussion and differences of opinion.

Memlinc's dependence on Rogier (pp. 14-16 and 32f.) seems to me closer than ever. I agree with growing assurance with Hulin de Loo, who has held that the *Annunciation*, sold at the Gow auction in London in 1937 (99A, Plate 125), the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Prado (99C, Plate 125) and the *Presentation at the Temple* in the Czernin collection (99B, Plate 125), are youthful works by Memlinc, connected in origin with Rogier's St. Columba altarpiece. I believe that the *Flight into Egypt*, now in private hands in London (32, Plates 81 and 125), which I identified as a youthful work by Memlinc, comes from the same altarpiece as those three panels.

The dimensions agree approximately. It must not be overlooked, however, that the *Annunciation* is in a fragmentary state. The panel was originally wider and included the angel. Closely related in style to these scenes from the life of the Virgin is a painting in the Musée Jacquemart-André in Paris, entitled *Chastity* (96, Plate 124). The lions in it are modelled on Rogier (see his *St. Jerome*, Vol. II, p. 89, Supp. 133). Hulin de Loo has called attention to the fact that the complex floor-tile pattern in Rogier's *Annunciation* in the Louvre recurs in the painting in the Czernin collection. The same pattern was used by the Master of the Legend of St. Catherine, and also by Memlinc himself, in another panel, which neither Hulin de Loo nor I knew in 1928, the donor shutter with Francisco de Royas (see Supp. 228, Plate 232).

(from Volume XIV)

The Contemporaries of Memlinc in Bruges

37

Successful though Memlinc was in his lifetime in finding friends and patrons of his ingratiating art within the walls of Bruges, that art showed little power to stir people elsewhere and after his death. Even in Bruges he was promptly succeeded by Gerard David, whose style attained local dominance in the early decades of the 16th century. The brief and feeble after-effects of Memlinc's art may be gauged from the relatively small number of copies and imitations that have survived. True, the painters of Bruges who were his approximate contemporaries shared Memlinc's general orientation, in the measure that local feeling and shared patronage set the content and form of their pictures. Yet they were little given to imitating the German painter in terms of formal idiom. The cult of the Virgin and of female saints was strong in Bruges, which Enea Vico has honoured with the title 'City of Mary'. As shown by documentary evidence, Memlinc himself trained at least two apprentices¹. But in the surviving store of paintings we come upon only a few works that look as though they had been painted by actual pupils.

A Spanish scholar has recently identified and placed in Castile the work of a competent master who does seem to have been a student of Memlinc in the narrower sense². It includes an *Investiture of St. Ildefonso*, in the Pacully collection at Nice (105, Plate 130), originally from the collection of Don Sebastian de Bourbon, to which have now been added its shutters with Sts. Isidore and Leander in the Valladolid museum. These saints have a specifically Spanish connotation, as have the undeciphered armorial bearing and the floor tiling. Indeed, everything supports the presumption that this altarpiece was created for Spain, and very probably in Spain, yet almost certainly by a painter trained in Bruges. Stylistically similar is a *Virgin Enthroned* (106, Plate 130)—the panel shows her in a church, with an angel standing beside her—which was auctioned by Muller in Amsterdam in 1922 as part of the de Laborderie collection and has now entered the Philips collection at Eindhoven.

Two Madonnas in half-length, done by a follower of Memlinc, were shown together at the Bruges exhibition of 1902. One is a panel from the Northbrook collection (107, Plate 131), while the other went from the Sommer collection to the Friedsam collection in New York (108, Plate 131). The purely superficial features that join these two Madonnas are the Virgin's kerchief or veil with its scalloped edge draped in angles on her hand, and a headband embellished with large pearls. This master does not lag far behind his preceptor.

A *Lamentation* (109, Plate 131), including St. John and four holy women, that was auctioned in Brussels in 1902 is the careful and workmanlike product of a Memlinc imitator who, in my opinion, also did an *Annunciation* now in a private collection in Saragossa (110, Plate 131). This same master may also have done the careful drawing in the Louvre (where it is attributed to Rogier), showing a *Christ on the Cross, with the Virgin, St. John, and Mary Magdalene* (Plate 130). The dead, open-eyed Christ in the *Lamentation* (109, Plate 131) bears an inane expression.

1. Cf. p. 12, above.

2. Diego Angulo Iñiguez, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, Vol. 46, p. 38 ff.

The expressions in the *Annunciation* (110, Plate 131) are comparable, although here softened by friendly smiles.

A comparatively autonomous painter of Memlinc's own stature was the creator of a diptych owned by Viscount Lee of Fareham in London (111, Plate 132). The lefthand panel shows the Virgin in half-length, with a smiling, open-mouthed, frail child turning towards the donor in a vigorous movement. The youthful donor on the righthand panel, his palms joined, is uncommonly graceful in appearance. Within this compositional scheme, taken over from Memlinc, there is much individual refinement in form and colour. The palette is very light, the execution of extreme delicacy. The Virgin's nose is long and slightly arched.

The museum at Sigmaringen owns an altarpiece (112, Plate 132, 133), consisting of three hinged panels of equal size, done in Bruges in 1473. The centrepiece shows the Virgin enthroned, the left panel the donor, identified from the arms as the Bruges burgomaster Jan de Witte, the right panel his wife Marie Hoose. Below on the original frame stands an inscription: *Etatis xxx annorum / Hoc opus perfectum anno MIII^c LXXIII— XXVII die Julii / Etatis xvi annorum—*. The reverse of the right shutter shows a *Christ on the Cross, with the Virgin and St. John* 161.

This firmly dated and localized work stands quite alone, bespeaking an excellent and respected painter who bears about the same relationship to Rogier as does Memlinc. A wall runs parallel to the picture surface in the middleground, creating unity of space for all three panels. The Virgin is seated in the gardenlike foreground area before a brocade runner framed by a rose arbour. The two kneeling donor figures are given equal weight, their ample robes spreading broadly over the ground, with projecting points. The wife leans backwards, her eyes lowered, her hands joined. Her fragile body, soaring upwards like a plant from the brood root of the fabric, bears a heavy head. The Virgin is shaped with the same sensitive feeling for budding youth. Her delicate body is shrouded, while face and hands are emphasized as the carriers of inward expression. Her head is inclined and turned slightly to one side, giving prominence to the lofty brow. The chin is small and surmounted by Rogier's full lower lip. There is a certain daintiness, especially in the play of the long fingers, that shows a departure from the Brussels master. The formal idiom is more mobile and articulate than Memlinc's.

In addition to these few selected works, some others by disciples of Memlinc, done in the master's workshop or outside, will be found listed in the voluminous Catalogue A, among the paintings there described as copies or repetitions and those attributed to the master himself only with reservations.

At the Bruges exhibition of 1902, two altar shutters, each showing four scenes, came into prominence from the Convent of the Black Sisters (113, Plates 134-139). They narrate the legend of St. Ursula with the same explicitness as Memlinc's shrine. The modest author of these panels, also recognized in several other works, has been named after the saint whom he glorified just before Memlinc did so. The two shutters that are the prototypes and points of departure for his critical evaluation are undated. Memlinc's shrine was completed in the autumn of 1489. Had the Master of the Legend of St. Ursula known this work—and he must have known it, if it had been finished—he would not have been able to deal with the same subject as Memlinc without falling under the master's spell. Thus Memlinc's felicitous

solution can scarcely have preceded the rather awkward effort by the nameless master.

Two works, rightly ascribed to the Master of the Legend of St. Ursula, establish the time of his activity by inscribed dates. The year 1486 is displayed on a diptych with a Virgin in half-length and donor portraits that reached the Friedsam collection in New York (116, Plate 142) from the Fairfax Murray collection, while the year 1488 is included in an inscription on a devotional panel, a *St. Anne*, in the Lehman collection, New York (119, Plate 144). The scene of his work is brought to mind by the towers of Bruges that appear repeatedly in his landscape backgrounds. His monotonous style is readily identified in certain static devotional panels, especially Madonnas. By comparison with Memlinc's sinuous grace, the figure groups on the St. Ursula shutters seem excessively naïve, although taken by themselves they do manage to extract an entertaining sense of abundance, like book illuminations, from the wealth of incident, the decorative dress, the contrasts of scene, of young and old, of man and woman. Their primitive, straight-forward clarity is not without a certain unassuming charm. The figures are on the small side, with large heads. The master's artless and doll-like ideal, repeatedly epitomized in the faces of St. Ursula and her companions, recurs even more plainly in several Madonna panels of relatively large format. The broadly parted hair grows deep into the low foreheads and is bunched at the sides, the ears form a narrow crescent, the large eyes are dark and without highlights, the large mouths firmly closed, the shadows rather heavy. The hair cascades to the shoulders in waves, its texture marked by lines of light that occasionally cross. The hands are often short, plump and almost vulgar, but occasionally—and almost always when the master is demonstrably copying after Rogier—long and well-shaped. The coloration is dim and murky, the flesh tones chalklike.

It is scarcely surprising that a master with so little spark clung to the Rogierian model and submitted to the constraint that even so talented a master as Memlinc was unable to escape in the same circumstances of time and place. In one instance—Rogier's St Luke Madonna, or, more aptly, a variant thereof, in half-length—the Master of the Legend of St. Ursula followed the original with such fidelity that his own style is not at all easy to recognize. The picture is now in the Metropolitan Museum at New York (120, Plate 144), and I have already mentioned it, among the nameless Rogier imitations³. There is another Madonna in half-length (122, Plate 144)—with eight angels and a gilt background, dotted in part—which went from the Nardus collection to the Widener collection in Philadelphia and subsequently to Mr. van Gelder (Uccle). It goes back to a Rogierian type, preserved in many variants, to which I gave the number 108 in my second volume. The *Virgin with the Apple*, on the model of Rogier, the Master of the Legend of St. Ursula demonstrably painted no less than three times⁴. It is a composition that was popular in Bruges—Gerard David and Adriaen Isenbrant also used it.

The St. Ursula Master had a personal weakness for angels, and on each occasion, with only minor modifications, he added two flying angels, holding a crown over the Virgin's head. Those Madonna panels of his that cannot be traced back to older models are noteworthy for a certain crudeness of posture and, naturally, are more typical of his own style. They include one-half of the diptych of 1486, a picture

3. Vol. II, No. 107g.

4. Vol. II, No. 109.

in the van Stolk collection (125, Plate 146), and a panel I saw in the possession of a Munich art dealer in 1914 (123, Plate 146).

Towards the end of the 15th century, a certain hieratic retrogression is seen repeatedly in the workshop output of subaltern masters. It is marked, especially, by the use of a gilt ground, eschewed ever since Jan van Eyck's pioneering work. The Master of the Legend of St. Ursula occasionally added shading in black over the gilt ground, or enlivened it in places with dark dots. At times he was not beyond introducing obtrusively large rays that issue from the Virgin's head.

A representative picture in broad format from the hand of this Master went to the Lederer collection in Vienna in the sale of the Kaufmann collection (118, Plate 143). It is reminiscent of Memlinc's *St. John* altarpiece, which the painter, therefore, must have known, so it was presumably done after 1479. It shows St. Anne at the centre and the Virgin, seated with the Child, lower down; at the right, standing, St. Louis, and St. Barbara, seated, and at the left St. John the Baptist and St. Catherine. The seated posture of the infant Jesus is a free rendering after Jan van Eyck, while St. Barbara follows Memlinc's similar figure in the *St. John* altarpiece.

Two small tryptichs confirm the master's poverty of invention. One is owned by the Bishop of Chur (115, Plate 141), the other is in the museum at Freiburg i. Br. (114, Plate 140). As can be quite readily established, all the major motives are borrowed. The centrepiece at Freiburg is a *Nativity*, in its main features after Rogier's Bladelin altarpiece, the left shutter the type of *Visitation* known to us from the Turin panel, i.e. likewise after Rogier, directly or indirectly. The right shutter shows a donor under the protection of an archangel. The centrepiece at Chur is a *Virgin Enthroned*, with a clerical donor. St. Catherine is on the right, Mary Magdalene on the left. The latter saint is borrowed from a drawing I have mentioned as being the work of a master under the influence of Hugo van der Goes⁵.

5. Vol. iv, pp. 46f.,
Plate 103.

The devotional panels by the Master of the Legend of St. Ursula contain donor portraits that have served me as a point of departure for ascribing to him a number of separate portraits. I am most certain of this attribution in the case of the praying young man in the John G. Johnson Collection (134, Plate 145). Certainly, the narrow landscape segments to the right and left of the head are of distinct assistance here, because of their characteristic formation. The countryside is subdivided by diagonal ridges that intersect at right angles, allowing distant vistas and a view on buildings surmounted by the familiar towers of Bruges. Eager to crowd a maximum of landscape features into the narrow openings, the master piles them helter-skelter one atop the other in steep and faulty perspective.

The bare head, spherical as though turned out on a lathe, is not quite as dull as the donors in the 1486 diptych and may have benefited a bit from Memlinc's subtler portrait art. Even so, apart from the landscape, there is no dearth of recognizable peculiarities, among which I mention the straight line of the mouth, allowing the lips no mobility, and the eyelashes, running straight up and down rather than appearing to grow out, as they should.

With some hesitation, I ascribe to this master two male portraits close to each other in character and quality. One is preserved in the museum at Bergamo (133, Plate 149), while the other became known to me years ago in London, in the possession of Mr. Donaldson (135, Plate 149). In expression, they rise a bit beyond

the limits that seem to be set for their putative author. The Bergamo picture shows, on either side of a brocade runner, a steeply piled-up countryside with many buildings, of similar character to that in the panel in the Johnson collection (134, Plate 145). The portrait formerly seen in a private collection in England has a light neutral ground without a landscape, but seems indiscoverable from the one in Bergamo.

Indubitably a work by the Master of the Legend of St. Ursula is an insignificant female portrait in the Mayer van den Bergh museum in Antwerp (136, Plate 149).

A master of somewhat higher rank than the Master of the Legend of St. Ursula painted two donor portraits now in the Uffizi at Florence (137, Plate 150). They are the shutters of a triptych, for they show an *Annunciation* on the reverse sides. Warburg was able to show, from the armorial bearings, that they represent Pierantonio Bandini Baroncelli and his wife Maria, née Bonciani, whom he married in 1489⁶. Originally an agent of the Pazzi, Pierantonio took over direction of the Medici interests in Bruges after the withdrawal of Tommaso Portinari.

Evidently from the hand of this competent craftsman, so intent upon the precise reproduction of jewellery, is a panel from the collection of Lord Taunton, which has gone to the collection of Viscount Lee of Fareham (138, Plate 151). This painting is in an uncommonly perfect state of preservation. Finished with the most painstaking clarity, it makes an extremely bare impression, in line and organization. Facing straight on in the middle stands an unidentified female saint of spare stature, dressed in a robe reaching to her bare feet. Her nun's wimple is surmounted by a crown, there is a cross over her breast, and she carries a book and a crucifix. On the right kneel two ladies in rich dress, on the left the donor. The scene is an open porch with a view on the countryside, to the right into a chapel with an altar, beside which hangs a bust-length portrait of the saint shown standing at the centre. The curtained rail above the altar bears an escutcheon with a red griffin on a white ground, above three white lilies on a blue ground (71). In all likelihood these are the arms of an Italian resident in Bruges—the same one who commissioned the Memlinc panels in Strasbourg (21, Plate 61) (81). The phlegmatic stolidity and firm conscientiousness of Petrus Christus live on in this master, who seems to have been less touched by Rogier than his Bruges contemporaries. A noteworthy peculiarity is the diffuse lighting of the female faces, with its strong reflections. Even in half-face, the light strikes both cheeks with the same intensity. Shadows are gathered beside the nose, along the mouth, and in the hollows of the eyes.

Another painter who worked in Bruges at about the same time as the Master of the Legend of St. Ursula has been named after a panel in the church of St. James there, on which the legend of St. Lucy is represented (139, Plates 152-154). There are three incidents, side by side, on this frieze, which is subdivided by slender columns. First comes the tallish saint conversing with her mother, with a group of beggars and pilgrims behind them. In the central section, soldiers are escorting the saint into the presence of a consul, shown on his seat of office. On the right she is about to be carried off by a team of oxen, at the behest of the consul. Above, on the canopy in the central section, is an inscription: *Dit was ghedaen int jaer MCCCC LXXX*. There are two escutcheons each in two places, most plainly on the bases of the columns.

6. *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. 33, 1902, p. 264.

There is little drama in the manner in which the legend is staged, in the form of an easy-going procession. The imperturbable virgin saint, invested with the attitudes of a puppet, is shown three times in the midst of swarthy men, to whom the painter in vain tried to give an air of menace. Wide and hairy of head, the dark-eyed, large-mouthed beggars and henchmen stand no less at ease than the saint herself. Other architectural elements as well as the columns organize the picture area in vertical terms; but horizontals too are emphasized—steps, the wall, flower-beds—and the resulting grid of levels at varying depths from the surface enhances the impression of tranquillity and balance.

This master is readily identified from a number of recurring characteristics. He is fond of covering the foreground soil with carefully observed flora—flowers and foliage. His background landscapes have a gardenlike quality. He shows the towered skyline of Bruges with some regularity and with a better understanding of architecture than the Master of the Legend of St. Ursula. The pyramidal spire of Notre Dame appears in almost everyone of his pictures, and to the right of it the belfry tower, on which work was going on in the painter's time. The hills behind the town drop away towards the middle in gentle lines.

The master's ideal of young womanhood is rather varied, for he sometimes sticks to the model of Memlinc, while occasionally he turns to Jan van Eyck. Among his marks are the sparse hair, faintly waved in individual light lines and falling in strands to the shoulders, the thin arms, often bent at right angles, and fingers that are almost invariably bent slightly upwards at the tips. His brushwork, using bright, parallel strokes and dots, creates a sense of glittering animation. The billowing dresses of his seated women are seen in depth, and the fall of the drapery often has a melodious note. A brocade pattern of pomegranates does much to enliven the scene.

A panel in Brussels displays a veritable gallery of young women of carefully varied types. It shows the Virgin with eleven female saints (155, Plate 161). The Virgin herself, and even more so St. Agnes, approach Memlinc's ideal, while the other faces, in the master's own style, have an unfortunate way of reminding one ever so slightly of sheep, with their noses a bit bulbous at the tip. The Mary Magdalene is copied, taken from Rogier's *Lamentation* at Florence⁷ and carefully fitted into the new context. The infant Jesus too is borrowed, his posture occurring in several paintings by other masters, as well as in an excellent drawing rightly considered the work of Rogier⁸. The panel under discussion comes from the church of Notre Dame in Bruges and was a donation to that church in 1489⁹. A kind of variant of this Brussels composition, with only four female saints, on a smaller scale and less ostentatious, is in the Detroit museum (154, Plate 162), which purchased this panel in 1927 at an Amsterdam auction. Some of the figures are exactly as in Brussels, but several of the faces are surprisingly altered, the saint with the lily, for example, who is reminiscent of Jan van Eyck. This pleasing panel with its symmetrical construction, festive decoration, flower-covered ground, encircling hedge, jewellery and brocade, the sharply accented town view and vivid highlights in the fabrics is a particularly successful work of the master.

A *St. Catherine* in the museum at Pisa (158, Plate 163), with a tripartite, story-telling predella and a painting of the same saint in the Johnson Collection at Phi-

7. Cf. Vol. II, No. 22, Pl. 43.

8. In the collection of Franz Koenig, Haarlem. Cf. *Old Master Drawings*, No. 1. Cf. Vol. II, Add. 146A, Plate 129.

9. Weale, catalogue of the Bruges exhibition of 1902, No. 114.

Philadelphia (157, Plate 163) display with satisfying clarity all the qualities I have stressed.

One of the master's favourite themes is the enthroned Virgin, flanked by two angels. One such panel, with the town view in the background, is in the Sachs collection at New York (152, Plate 160). A similar panel, in which the Virgin wears the same robe (although there are many other sharp departures), figured in the auction of the Earl of Ellenborough at London in 1914 (152A, Plate 160), but I do not know its present owner. Representations of the Passion are rare in this group. Just how the master dealt with problems that required the expression of pain and vigorous movement we may observe in a triptych with a *Lamentation* (141, Plate 156), which was being offered in 1913 by a London art dealer who had obtained it from private hands in Spain. The left shutter shows St. John the Baptist, the right one St. Catherine, painted in a style thoroughly characteristic of this master. The centre panel shows the town view that may almost serve as his signature. The Virgin is seated at the centre, holding the rigid body of Christ obliquely in her lap. To the right and left of her, symmetrically, are two women and three men. The rather stocky, almost chubby figures belong to the master's late period.

The Bruges belfry turn up in varying forms. Three building phases can be distinguished. Between 1480 and 1490—the time of our painter, that is—the tower was for the first time being raised. The oldest form appears in the St. Lucy panel of 1480—the roofing directly above the double window and the gallery, as shown also in the painting at Detroit (154, Plate 162). In the second form, the octagonal storey has been added, as in the A. Sachs Madonna panel in New York (152, Plate 160) and the *Lamentation* triptych (141, Plate 156). The third form shows the pointed roof (missing today) over the octagon, as in a *Virgin Enthroned* (151, Plate 160), which was on view in the Spanish gallery in London some years ago. Judging from these stages, the Detroit panel seems to have preceded the similar Brussels panel (155, Plate 161), which was apparently done in 1489.

Three things distinguish the Master of the Legend of St. Lucy—an understanding of architecture, intimate observation of the plant world, and a pleasing decorative sense.

Supplement to the Contemporaries of Memlinc in Bruges

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Master of the Legend of St. Ursula: Several of the compositions and typical postures in the work of this master, who was active in Bruges around 1485, go back to Rogier. Like Memlinc, he may have come to Bruges from Brussels. On the other hand, Rogier's great influence on the Bruges school may stem from his presence and work in Bruges (see Vol. II, p. 54).

Master of the Legend of St. Lucy: Apart from the inevitable relationships with Rogier, the œuvre of this master, who was active in Bruges around 1485, displays certain influences from Dieric Bouts.

Master of St. Augustine: This painter, whom I did not mention before, was active in Bruges at the same time as Memlinc. I assembled his œuvre in *Art in America* in April 1937 (pp. 47 ff.). The centrepiece of his main work, an altarpiece showing the legend of St. Augustine (Supp. 244, Plates 240-241), is in the Erickson collection in New York. The inside of the right shutter is in the Dublin museum, and a fragment from the verso of one of the shutters is in the museum at Aachen. A panel by his hand, an episcopal saint enthroned, was given to the museum in Bruges. Its background features the steeple of the church of Notre Dame, the characteristic emblem of Bruges. This painter should therefore be placed in Bruges (Supp. 245, Plate 242).

Painters from Bruges in Genoa: Towards the end of the 15th century, close ties developed between Bruges and Genoa, as was true in the 16th century for Antwerp. Preserved in San Lorenzo on the Riviera is an altarpiece with a *Raising of Lazarus* and other scenes, signed: *Andreas de Costa fecit fieri Brugis 1499* (Supp. 246, Plates 243-246). I have myself assembled two groups of pictures and thus established two Flemish masters who were active in Genoa—see *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, Vol. 28, 1927, pp. 273 ff. 191.

Neither the Master of St. John the Evangelist, so called after a sequence of paintings in the Palazzo Bianco in Genoa (Supp. 247, Plates 246-247), nor the Master of the Turin Adoration, named after a wide painting in the Turin museum (Supp. 250, Plate 249), have left any traces outside Italy. Insofar as their provenance can be established, all the pictures in these groups come from Italy. I have recently become acquainted with two altarpiece shutters with saints by the Master of St. John the Evangelist, in the possession of the heirs of the musicologist Max Friedländer in Berlin (Supp. 248), and with a *Crucifixion* on the Berlin art market (1934) (Supp. 249, Plate 248).

(from Volume XIV)

The Catalogues

CATALOGUE A: THE PAINTINGS OF HANS MEMLING, ARRANGED BY SUBJECT, WITH ALTARPIECES WITH SHUTTERS, DIPTYCHS AND WORKS CONSISTING OF SEVERAL PARTS LISTED FIRST

1. (Plates 1-3) *Altarpiece with Shutters*: Centre, *The Adoration of the Magi*; left, *The Nativity*; right, *The Presentation in the Temple*. Prado, Madrid, No. 1557 (95 × 147—73). Done about 1470 (110).
2. (Plates 4-7) *Altarpiece with Shutters*: Centre, *The Adoration of the Magi*; left, *The Nativity*; right, *The Presentation in the Temple*; verso, *Sts. John the Baptist and Veronica*. Bruges, St. John's Hospital (46 × 57—25). Inscription on the original frame: *Dit · Werck · dede · maken · broeder · Jan · Floreins · alias · van · der · Riist · broeder · proffes · van · den · Hospitale · van · Sint · Jans · in · Brugghe · Anno · M · CCCC · LXXIX · Opus · Johannis · Memling* 1111.
3. (Plates 8-13) *Altarpiece with Shutters*: Centre, *The Crucifixion*; left, *Christ Carrying the Cross*; right, *The Resurrection*; verso, *Sts. Blaise, John the Baptist, Jerome and Giles* 1121. Cathedral, Lübeck (205 × 150—75). This altarpiece was given by the Lübeck merchant Heinrich Greverade, who commissioned it in Bruges in 1491.
 - Now on loan from the City of Lübeck to the St. Annen Museum.
 - a. (Plate 14) Museum, Budapest, No. 680 (56 × 63). A free copy of the centre-piece. The corresponding shutters are in the Staatsgalerie, Vienna, No. 639 (58 × 28) 1131. ● The triptych is now complete in the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, Nos. 124 and 6707.
- 4A. (Plate 16) *Christ on the Cross*, with mourners, saints and the donor. Museum, Vicenza, No. 297 (83 × 64). Done about 1470.
- 4B. (Plates 16, 17) *Two Altarpiece Shutters*: the donatrix with a female saint 1141; the donor with St. William. Morgan Library, New York (81 × 30 each), from the R. Kann collection, Paris. These shutters belong to the Vicenza panel, as shown by the copy of the whole work in the Accademia, Venice 1151.
 - a. (Plate 16) Gallerie dell' Accademia, Venice, No. 189. A copy of later date (canvas, 84 × 114). ● On loan to the Cà d'Oro.
5. (Plates 18-21) *Altarpiece with Shutters*: Centre, *The Lamentation*; left, the donor with St. Adrian; right, *St. Barbara*; verso, *St. Wilgefortis*, *St. Mary of Egypt*. Bruges, St. John's Hospital (44 × 36—14). The donor was Adriaen Reins. Done about 1480, possibly with the aid of pupils.

6. (Plates 22, 23) *Altarpiece with Shutters*: Centre, *The Lamentation*; left, *St. James the Pilgrim*; right, *St. Christopher*. Formerly in the von Kaufmann collection, Berlin, where it was destroyed by fire 1161 (68 × 53—22). Done about 1475. • The centrepiece is now in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam, Inv. No. 2471; 68.5 × 52.8 cm. The shutters are in a private collection, Luxembourg; 67 × 20.5 cm.

7. (Plates 24, 25) *Altarpiece with Shutters*: Centre, *The Resurrection*; left, *The Martyrdom of St. Sebastian*; right, *The Ascension of Christ*. Louvre, Paris, No. 2028 (61 × 43—17.5). Done about 1490.

8. (Plates 26-31) *Altarpiece with Shutters*: *The Last Judgment*, with the ascent of the redeemed on the left, hell on the right shutter. Verso, the Virgin with the donor, St. Michael with the donatrix. Church of St. Mary, Danzig (222 × 160—80). From the armorial bearings the donor has been identified as Jacopo Tani 1171, representative of the Medici resident in Bruges (cf. Warburg, *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. 23, 1902, pp. 247 ff.). The altarpiece was shipped to Florence in 1473. The ship carrying it, belonging to Tommaso Portinari, was captured by Peter Benecke of Danzig, and the altarpiece given to the Confraternity of St. George at the Church of St. Mary, Danzig. Brought to Paris in 1807, it was returned to Danzig in 1816. The altarpiece must have been done before 1473, probably not very much earlier. The nude figure in the declining pan of the scales bears the well-known features of Tommaso Portinari, whom Memlinc portrayed more than once. See pp. 17, 22, 26, 30. • Now in the Muzeum Pomorskie w Gdańsku.

9. (Plates 32-35) *Altarpiece with Shutters*: Centre, *The Virgin Enthroned*, with an angel and a kneeling donor; left, *St. John the Baptist*; right, *St. John the Evangelist*; verso, *Adam and Eve*. Staatsgalerie, Vienna, Nos. 635-638 (69 × 47—17). The insides of the shutters have been joined together. Done about 1485. 1181

a. (Vol. VII, Plate 69) Collection of Mrs. A. Morrison, London (97 × 58—37). A free copy by the Morrison Master. The place of the donor in the centrepiece has been taken by a kneeling angel with a lute 1191. • Now in the Museum of Art, Toledo, Ohio.

b. (Plate 36) Collection of Fr. Gutmann, Haarlem (64 × 47). An excellent free copy of the centrepiece by a Bruges master from the time around 1510. The face of the Virgin is in the style of Gerard David. From the collection of the Duke of Westminster 1201. • Now in the Stichting Collectie P. and N. de Boer, Amsterdam.

c. (Plate 36) Art market, London (Spanish Art Gallery, 1920). An old copy of the two inside shutters. • In 1932, was with the art dealer T. Harris, London 1211.

d. (Plate 36) Art market, London, 1926 (69 × 47.5). An independent replica of the centrepiece, with the abbot of the Abbaye des Dunes, C. de Hondt (1496-1509), as the donor 1221. • Later with the art dealer Goudstikker, Amsterdam.

10. (Plates 37-40) *Altarpiece with Shutters*: Centre, *The Virgin* with Sts. Catherine and Barbara, angels and the donor's family; inner shutters, *St. John the Baptist* and

St. John the Evangelist; verso, *St. Christopher* and *St. Anthony of Padua* (231, in grisaille. (71 × 70.5—30). Collection of the Duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth. From the armorial bearings on the capital of the column in the centrepiece, the donor has been identified as the Englishman Sir John Donne of Kidwelly. He wears the Yorkist order created by Edward IV in 1461 and fell in battle on 26th July 1469. The altarpiece was probably done in 1468. At that time, a number of highly placed Britons visited Bruges, on the occasion of the marriage of Charles the Bold to the English princess, Margaret of York. Sir John's wife was Elisabeth, a daughter of Sir Leonard Hastings. This painting has been often shown, for example in Bruges in 1902 (No. 56), and repeatedly in London. It is, on the whole, well-preserved, except for an irritating restoration in the face of the Virgin, see pp. 12 f. 1241. • Now in the National Gallery, London, No. 6.275.

11. (Plates 41-44) *Altarpiece with Shutters*: Centre, *The Virgin Enthroned* with Sts. Catherine, Barbara, John the Baptist and John the Evangelist; left, *The Beheading of St. John the Baptist*; right, *St. John on Patmos*; verso, St. James the Pilgrim and St. Anthony of Padua (251, with two kneeling donors, Sts. Agnes and Clara with two donatrices. St. John's Hospital, Bruges (172 × 172—79). The frame bears the following, reliable inscription: *opus Johannis Memling Anno 1479*. The donors are Anthonis Seghers and Jacob de Keuninc, the donatrices Agnes Casembrood and Clara van Hulsen, nurses and matrons at the hospital (261).

12. (Plates 45-48) *Altarpiece with Shutters*: Centre, Sts. Benedict (271, Christopher and Giles; left, Willem Moreel with his sons and St. William; right, Barbara Moreel with her daughters and St. Barbara; verso, St. John the Baptist and St. George. Municipal museum, Bruges (121 × 154—77). The altarpiece comes from the Church of St. James in Bruges and was donated in 1484.

a. (Plate 46) Private ownership, Cologne. A weak copy, showing the three saints distributed over the inner panels of a triptych.

13. (Plates 50, 51) *Diptych: The Deposition; St. John and the Mourning Women*. Capilla Real, Granada (50 × 35 each). Free after van der Goes. See pp. 22 f. Done about 1475 (281).

a. (Plate 49) Collection of J. Braz, Leningrad (54 × 39). A free replica of *The Deposition*. Present whereabouts unknown. Original (291. • Following the recent death of Professor Braz, this panel is now on the art market, in New York • Now the Colonel Daniel Sickles collection, Paris.

b. (See Vol. IV, No. 7c, Plate 9) Museum, Schleissheim, No. 123; 50 × 39. A free replica of the mourning women, a workshop copy (301. • Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, Munich; Inv. No. H.G. 670; Depot Schleissheim Castle.

14. (Plates 52, 53) *Diptych: The Virgin at Half-Length; Portrait of Martin Nieuwenhove with Folded Hands*. St. John's Hospital, Bruges (44 × 33 each). The original frame bears the inscription: *Hoc opus fieri fecit Martinus de Nieuwenhoven Anno DM 1487 Anovero etatis sue 23*.

a. (Plate 49) Collection of Baron L. Bethune, Alost. A copy of the Virgin, with three music-making angels, clumsily added (61×51). Exhibited in Bruges in 1902, No. 83 in the catalogue. A mediocre imitation. • Now in a private collection, Belgium.

15. (Plate 54) *Diptych: Virgin and Child with Six Female Saints; St. John the Baptist with a Donor*, in the background St. George and St. John on Patmos. Louvre, Paris, Nos. 2027, 2027A (25×15 each, rounded at the top). Done about 1490.

16A. (Plate 55) *Altarpiece Shutter: Two Horses and an Ape*. Private ownership, Holland (43×16). From the Ch. L. Cardon collection, Brussels. Judging from the perspective of the archway, this is a righthand shutter, but the meaning is hard to fathom. The unsaddled horses hint of an Adoration of the Kings or possibly a Garden of Eden (The Peaceable Kingdom). • Now in the van Beuningen collection, Rotterdam. • Now in the Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Inv. No. 2470.

16B. (Plate 55) *Portrait of a Young Woman*. J. Bache collection, New York (43×16). This panel was apparently part of the same altarpiece as 16A. • Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, J. S. Bache collection, Acc. No. L. 44.22.1; 43.2×18.4 cm.

17. (Plates 56) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters: St. John the Baptist, The Magdalene*. Louvre, Paris, Nos. 2024, 2025 (48×12 each). Formerly in the collection of King William II of the Netherlands (Nos. 8 and 9 in the auction of 1850). Apparently trimmed at the side and with the upper termination altered.

18. (Plate 57) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters: Sts. Stephen and Christopher*. Collection of E. W. Edwards, Cincinnati (48×15 each, rounded at the top). From the palace of the Grand Duke at Weimar. Like No. 17, formerly in the collection of King William II of the Netherlands (Nos. 10 and 11 in the auction of 1850). These shutters belong with a lost *Nativity*, and all three parts were once in the collection of Lucien Bonaparte. • Now in The Cincinnati Art Museum, gift of Mrs. E. W. Edwards, Acc. Nos. 1956-11 and 1955-793.

19. (Plates 58, 59) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters: St. John the Baptist, St. Lawrence*. National Gallery, London, No. 747 (56×17 each). The verso of one shutter carries an armorial bearing 1311. Done about 1485.

20. (Plate 60) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters: Portrait of a Donor with a Boy; Portrait of a Donatrix*. Gymnasium, Hermannstadt (44×33 each). These shutters appear to be in fragmentary form. The sitters were originally probably depicted at full-length. • Now in the National Gallery of Fine Art, Bucharest.

21. (Plates 61-63) *Six Panels from an Altarpiece: Christ with Two Music-Making Angels; Purgatory 1321; Vanity; Death; A Skull; An Escutcheon*. Museum, Strasbourg, No. 51 (22×14 each). The arms are supposedly of the Borelli family (ar-

gent a griffin sable and a chief azure three fleur-de-lys gold—motto: *Nul Bien sans Peine*) (1331). Done about 1485.

22. (Plates 64, 65) *Altarpiece*, the so-called organ shutters from Najera, Spain: Centre, *Christ Giving the Blessing*, with six singing angels; right and left, five music-making angels each. Museum, Antwerp, Nos. 778-780 (168 × 212—230 each). This work comes from the church of Santa Maria la Real in Najera, Castile. The robes of the angels in the centrepiece display the arms of Castile and Leon. Done at a rather late period.

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23. *Devotional Triptych*.

A. (Plates 66, 67) *Virgin and Child at Half-Length*. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 528B (43 × 31). • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

B. (Plate 66) *Portrait of a Young Man*. Uffizi, Florence, No. 769 (43 × 31). Dated 1487. According to Warburg the sitter is Benedetto Portinari, born 1466.

C. (Plate 66) *St. Benedict at Half-Length*. Uffizi, Florence, No. 778 (43 × 31). B and C come from the convent of Santa Maria Nuova in Florence, with which the Portinari family maintained close relations.

24. (Plates 68-77) *Shrine of St. Ursula*. St. John's Hospital, Bruges. The two end faces show the Virgin and Child, standing, with two kneeling donatrices, and St. Ursula with the virgins. Each of the two sides shows three scenes from the legend of St. Ursula. The slanted sides of the cover each show one larger and two smaller tondi, the larger ones depicting the coronations of the Virgin and St. Ursula, the smaller ones music-making angels. The paintings on the cover are of somewhat lesser quality and may be workshop products. The donatrices are the nuns Jocosa van Dudzele and Anna van den Moortele. The shrine was put in use on 21st October 1489.

25. (Plate 78) *Bathsheba Bathing*. Museum, Stuttgart, No. 111 (192 × 86). Done about 1485. The left upper corner was inserted later. See No. 97 1341. • Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, No. 644.

26. (Plate 79) *The Annunciation*. Ph. Lehman collection, New York (75 × 56). Formerly in the collection of Count Racziwill, Berlin. The frame of this panel, now lost, is said to have been dated 1482. • The Robert Lehman Collection, New York.

27. (Plate 80) *The Virgin at Bust-Length*. A fragment from an Annunciation. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, No. 324 (Catalogue II—27.5 × 22.5). Somewhat overcleaned.

28. (Plate 80) *The Nativity*. Kunstgewerbemuseum, Cologne (W. Clemens collection—29 × 21.5). Judging by the perspective, this is the right shutter of a triptych. Done about 1470 (1351). • On permanent loan to the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum; Inv. No. A 1060 (Kunstgewerbemuseum), No. Dep. 205 (W.-R.-Museum).

29. (Plate 80) *The Nativity*. Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen (31 × 23). Rather archaic and odd in aspect 1361. • Now Statens Museum for Kunst, Cat. No. 439.

30. (Plate 80) *The Nativity*. Capilla Real, Granada (43 × 33). Odd in aspect. Very early, if indeed done by Memlinc at all 1371.

31. (Plate 81) *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*. Collection of Edouard de Rothschild, Paris (47 × 26). Probably from the collection of King William II of the Netherlands (No. 12 in the auction of 1850). Not seen. • Now in a private collection, Paris.

32. (Plates 81, 125) *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*. Sold at the Schiff auction, Paris, in 1905. Present whereabouts unknown. Possibly an early work. See pp. 16 f. Since I have not seen the original for many years, my judgment is subject to reservations. • Now in private hands in London (57 × 50.5) 1381. • Now in the Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, The Burrell Collection.

33. (Plates 82-85) *The Seven Joys of Mary*. Pinakothek, Munich, No. 116 (80 × 180). This panel was donated by Pieter Bultynck in 1480 to the Church of Our Lady in Bruges (Chapel of the Tanners). Late in the 18th century it was in the possession of the Austrian governor of Brabant, then in the hands of the Brion family, subsequently passing into the Boisserée collection. The original frame, now lost, carried an inscription relating to the donation (see Weale, *Beffroi*, Vol. 2, p. 265). • No. W.A.F. 668.

a. Collection of P. van Nieuwmunster (1637), Bruges (?). A somewhat enlarged copy from the 16th century (according to Weale, *Hans Memling*, London, 1901, p. 23). Exhibited in Bruges in 1867 (No. 17 bis), then in the possession of Florimond van de Poele van Schelderode 1391.

34. (Plates 86, 87) *The Passion of Christ*. Pinacoteca, Turin, Inv. No. 358 (55 × 90). Includes portraits of Tommaso Portinari and his wife as donors. Done about 1470. See p. 17. • Galleria Sabauda, Cat. No. 202.

a. (Plate 86) No. 2 in the Otlet auction, Brussels, 1902 1401 (70 × 125). Distributed over the three panels of a triptych. A workshop product 1411. • Now in the Lawrence Art Museum, Williams College, Kress Study Collection, Williamstown, Mass.

35. (Plate 88) *Fragment from a Christ Shown to the People*. Art market, London (Agnew, 1927—22 × 57). Formerly in the collection of R. Brocklebank. • Sold in the auction of the property of Mrs. Innes, London, 13th December 1935. • Now in the collection of Sir Thomas Merton, Maidenhead.

36. (Plate 88) *The Lamentation*, with a donor. Palazzo Doria, Rome (68 × 53). Done about 1485.

36A. (Plate 88) *The Three Mary's at the Tomb of Christ*. Art market, London (1928—

49 × 25). Apparently the verso from a triptych, the two shutters having been joined 1421. • Now in the Lillian Malcove collection, New York; 40.5 × 26.4 cm.

37. (Plate 89) *The Virgin at Half-Length with the Body of Christ*. Museum, Melbourne (27 × 19). Dated 1475. From private ownership in France (Comerré).

a. (Plate 89) Capilla Real, Granada (52 × 34). A free replica of equivalent merit.

b. (Plate 89) De Jado collection, Bilbao (31 × 21). A copy that follows the Granada specimen rather closely. • Now in the Museo de Bellas Artes.

c. (Plate 89) Art market, Paris (Kleinberger, 1910). A mediocre copy, resembling a and b in composition.

38. (Plate 90) *Christ Giving the Blessing*, bust-length tondo. M. Friedsam collection, New York (20.5 in diameter). From the Kaufmann collection (No. 69 in the Berlin auction of 1917). • Now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. • Michael Friedsam Bequest, Acc. No. 32.100.54.

39. (Plate 90) *Christ Giving the Blessing*, bust-length. Hamilton Rice collection, New York (36 × 26). Formerly owned by the king of Portugal. Dated 1478 on a part of the original frame, now lost 1431. • Now in the Mr. and Mrs. Norton Simon collection, Los Angeles, California.

40. (Plate 91) *Christ with the Stigmata*, half-length. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, No. 1176A (Catalogue III—52.5 × 32.5) 1441.

a. Cremer collection, Dortmund (51 × 41). A copy, with a landscape background.

41. (Plate 92) *Mater Dolorosa*, bust-length. Uffizi, Florence, No. 762 (51 × 33). Possibly an imitation 1451. • Not on exhibition (1970).

a. Art market, Italy. A copy in the style of Memlinc.

b. (Plate 92) Galleria Nazionale, Palazzo Corsini, Rome. A copy in a later style.

c. V. G.(ay) auction, Paris (48 × 31). A mediocre copy, in the style of Memlinc. The hands are shown folded.

d. (Plate 92) Museum, Strasbourg. With a landscape, later style 1461. • Musée des Beaux-Arts (Musées de la Ville), Inv. No. 187; 56 × 40 cm each.

42. (Plate 93) *An Angel with a Sword*, fragment (from a *Last Judgment?*). The Wallace Collection, London, No. 528 (36 × 15). Somewhat overcleaned.

43. (Plate 93) *St. Jerome Doing Penance*. Bachofen-Burckhardt collection, Basle (87 × 59). From the M. Schubart collection, Munich. • Now in the Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kunstmuseum Basel, Inv. No. 1229.

44. (Plate 94) *St. John the Baptist Seated Outdoors*. Pinakothek, Munich, No. 115 (32 × 24). A spurious inscription in gold: *H.V.D. Goes—1472*. In the house of Pietro Bembo in Padua the Anonymus Morellianus saw a small diptych, painted by Memlinc in 1470, one side of which showed the Baptist, clothed, outdoors, and

with a lamb, while the other half showed the Virgin outdoors. The Paduan panel may be identical with the one in Munich 1471. • Inv. No. 652; 31.6 × 24 cm.

45. (Plate 96) *The Martyrdom of St. Sebastian*. Museum, Brussels, No. 291 (67 × 68). Done about 1470.

46. (Plate 95) *St. Veronica with the Veil, Seated*. In private hands in Italy. Formerly in the collection of Prince Demidov (San Donato—34 × 24.2). Similar to the composition on the verso of the Floreins triptych in Bruges (No. 2), but not a copy, and by the hand of the master. • Now in the Thyssen Bornemisza Collection (Schloss Rohoncz Foundation), Lugano 1481. • Now in the National Gallery of Art, S. H. Kress Collection, Washington D.C., Inv. No. N.G. 1125, K. 1840; 31.1 × 24.2 cm.

47. (Plate 97) *Virgin and Child at Half-Length*. National Gallery, London, No. 709 (35 × 28). Done about 1475.

48. (Plate 98) *Virgin and Child at Half-Length*. Collection of Lady Ludlow (Wernher), London (35.5 × 26.5). The posture of the Child is boldly conceived and unusual. From private hands in Rome (1905). • Now in The Wernher Collection, Luton Hoo, Great Britain.

49. (Plate 97) *Virgin and Child at Half-Length*, with a landscape background. Museum, Lisbon. Done about 1485. The Child is similar to the one in the Nieuwenhove diptych (No. 14).

50. (Plate 98) *Virgin and Child at Half-Length*, with a mirror on a wall. Ryerson collection, Chicago museum, No. 2059 (35 × 26). From an inscription on the back, this picture comes from Spain. Done about 1485. 1491. • Acc. No. 33.1050; 33.4 × 26.7 cm.

51. (Plate 99) *The Virgin, Giving Suck to the Child*. Traumann collection, Madrid, present whereabouts unknown. Free after the Master of Flémalle, whose Frankfurt Madonna was often repeated at bust-length or in tondo by imitators of Rogier (see my Volume II, No. 70). Possibly a workshop replica. • Now in the Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio, diam. 18 cm.

a. (Plate 99) Mayer van den Bergh museum, Antwerp, No. 7 (17 in diameter). A replica of lesser merit.

52. (Plate 99) *The Virgin, Giving Suck to the Child*, tondo. Friedsam collection, New York (27.5 in diameter). From the collection of Sir Charles Dilke, London, formerly, in the Northwick collection 1501. • Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. • Bequest of Michael Friedsam, Acc. No. 32.100.59; diam. 17.5 cm.

53. (Plate 100) *Virgin and Child at Half-Length*. Art market, New York (Duveen,

1927—24 × 17). No. 53 in the Bourgeois auction of 1904, No. 70 in the Berlin auction of the von Kaufmann collection, 1917. Formerly in the collection of René della Faille. • Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Jules S. Bache collection, Acc. No. L. 44.23.22.

a. (Plate 100) Museum, Budapest, P. 83 (Pálffy collection—33.8 × 24). A good independent replica, attributed by Baldass to the putative Master Michiel. • No. 4327.

b. Heilgendorff collection, Berlin. A tired old copy.

c. (Plate 100) Bourgeois auction, Cologne, 1904, No. 54 (27 × 21). An independent copy, reversed 1511. • Now in the Bentinck Thyssen collection, Paris.

54. (Plate 100) *Virgin and Child at Half-Length*. Collection of Prince Liechtenstein, Vienna (43 × 36). Possibly a section of a larger panel. Done about 1480. • Now in the collection of The Aurora Trust, New York.

55. (Plate 101) *Virgin and Child Enthroned at Full-Length*. Capilla Real, Granada (73 × 57). Done about 1475. The Child's posture free after Rogier. See p. 19.

56. (Plate 103) *Virgin and Child Enthroned at Full-Length*. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 529 (87 × 55). • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem, 81 × 55 cm.

57. (Plate 102) *Virgin and Child Enthroned*, with an angel on the right. Renders collection, Bruges (22 × 13.5). Archaic and with some restorations, hence hard to judge. In composition dependent on Dieric Bouts (the Madonna in the National Gallery, London, shown between Sts. Peter and Paul—see my Vol. III, No. 21). • Disappeared during World War II 1521.

58. (Plate 104) *Virgin and Child Enthroned at Full Length*, with an angel. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 529D (69 × 47.5). From the A. Thiem collection. Sharply cleaned and somewhat restored, especially in the flesh parts. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem, 66 × 46.5 cm.

59. (Plate 102) *Virgin and Child Enthroned*, with a music-making angel on either side. Art market, New York (Duveen, 1926—75 × 53). Done at a very early stage, decidedly influenced by Rogier, perhaps a copy after him—see p. 19 1531. • Now in the Schiff collection, New York. • Now in the Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, Nelson Fund, Kansas City, Missouri, Acc. No. 44.43.

60. (Plate 104) *Virgin and Child Enthroned*, with an angel on either side. Mellon collection, Washington (56 × 49). Compare the somewhat more mature Madonnas in Vienna and Florence (Nos. 9 and 61), and the old-fashioned Madonna in Granada (No. 55). From the Gotisches Haus near Wörlitz. • Now in the National Gallery of Art, Andrew Mellon collection, Washington, D. C., Cat. No. 41; 59 × 48 cm.

61. (Plate 105) *Virgin Enthroned*, with two angels. Uffizi, Florence, No. 703 (57 × 42) 1541.

62. (Plate 102) *Virgin and Child Outdoors*, an angel on either side. Museum, San Sebastian (36.5 × 26.5). Possibly only a workshop product. • Now in the Prado, Madrid, No. 2543.

63. (Plate 106) *Virgin and Child Enthroned*, with an angel and the donor with St. George. National Gallery, London, No. 686 (53 × 37). From the Weyer collection, Cologne.

64. (Plate 107) *Virgin and Child at Full-Length*, Standing, with St. Anthony of Padua (155) and a donor. Collection of Prince Liechtenstein, Vienna (88 × 53). The year 1472 appears on a wall. • Now in the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, No. 6191.

65. (Plate 108) *Virgin and Child*, with Sts. Catherine and Barbara, an angel and a donor. Metropolitan Museum, New York, No. M 51—4 (68 × 72). From the collections of L. Goldschmidt, Paris, and B. Altman, New York. Formerly with Davenport and G. F. Bodley. Slightly overcleaned in a few places. Done about 1480.

a. (Plate 108) Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice, No. 190 (66 × 71). A weak old copy.

66. (Plate 109) *Virgin and Child*, with Sts. James and Dominic and a donor with his family. Louvre, Paris, No. 2026 (130 × 157). The donor is Jacob Floreins, who died in 1490. Done about 1485. • Inv. No. R.F. 215; 130 × 175 cm.

67. (Plate 110) *Portrait of Willem Moreel*, at bust-length, with folded hands (156). Museum, Brussels, No. 292 (37 × 27). Moreel was burgomaster in Bruges from 1478 to 1483.

68. (Plate 111) *Portrait of Barbara Moreel*, at bust-length, with folded hands (157). Museum, Brussels, No. 293 (37 × 27). Pendant to No. 67, probably from a devotional triptych.

69. (Plate 112) *Portrait of Tommaso Portinari*. Metropolitan Museum, New York, No. M 51—2 (44 × 33.5). From the collections of L. Goldschmidt, Paris, and B. Altman, New York. Formerly in private hands in Italy. Done about 1472. • Benjamin Altman bequest; Acc. No. 14.40.626.

70. (Plate 113) *Portrait of the Wife of Tommaso Portinari*. Metropolitan Museum, New York, No. M 51—3. Pendant to No. 69, same provenance. • Benjamin Altman bequest; Acc. No. 14.40.627; 44.2 × 34 cm.

71. (Plate 114) *Portrait of an Italian*. Museum, Antwerp, No. 5 (Ertborn collection—29 × 21). The sitter is usually considered to be Niccolò di Forzore Spinelli, born in Arezzo in 1430, a die-sinker whose presence in the Netherlands in 1468 in the service of Charles the Bold is documented. Hulin de Loo opposes this view (*Festschrift für Friedländer*, 1927, pp. 103 ff.) The medal-cutter holds a Roman coin

circumscribed: *Nero Claudius Cæsar Augustus...Imperator*. This picture was formerly in the possession of Baron Vivant Denon.

72. (Plate 114) *Portrait of a Man with Hands Folded in Prayer* (581). Art market, London (Colnaghi, 1920). Date on the original frame: *Anno Domini 1472—Etatis Sue 47*—armorial bearing. • Now in the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Mass., Cat. No. 408; 30.5 × 22.4 cm.

73. (Plate 114) *Portrait of a Man with a Tall Cap*, bust-length, with a landscape background. Stäedelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, No. 107 (42 × 31). From the collection of King William II of the Netherlands, No. 20 in the auction of 1850.

74. (Plate 115) *Portrait of a Man with One Hand Placed on the Other*. Ph. Lehman collection, New York. Formerly in Gosford Castle (Lord Wemys). • Now in The Robert Lehman Collection, New York.

75. (Plate 116) *Portrait of an Elderly Man*. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, No. 529 (34 × 29). • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem, No. 529c.

76. (Plate 116) *Portrait of an Elderly Woman*. Louvre, Paris, No. 2028B (35 × 29). Pendant to No. 75. From the Meazza collection, Milan, and the Nardus collection, Suresnes. Done about 1470. • Inv. No. R.F. 1723.

77. (Plate 117) *Portrait of a Young Man*, bust-length, with a landscape background. Accademia, Venice, No. 586 (26 × 19).

78. (Plate 117) *Portrait of a Young Man at Half-Length*, hands folded in prayer, one-half of a diptych. National Gallery, London (Salting Bequest), No. 2594 (39 × 25). From the Felix collection, Leipzig, done about 1475.

79. (Plate 118) *Portrait of a Mature Man*, bust-length, with a landscape background. Mauritshuis, The Hague (27 × 20). The armorial bearing on the verso and the posture of the hands indicate that this panel was originally part of a diptych. • Inv. No. 595; 30.1 × 22.3 cm.

80. (Plate 117) *Portrait of a Young Man*. Museum, Toledo, Ohio (Willys collection—32.5 × 22.5). From the J. E. Taylor collection, London. Sharply overcleaned. • Now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Montreal, Acc. No. 1129; 33.9 × 22.8 cm.

81. (Plate 117) *Portrait of an Old Man*. Metropolitan Museum, New York, No. M 51—1 (25 × 18). From the collections of Baron Oppenheim, Cologne, and B. Altman, New York. Once erroneously attributed to Jan van Eyck. Somewhat overcleaned in the flesh parts. Done about 1470.

82. (Plate 119) *Portrait of a Man with a Rosary*, bust-length, with a landscape back-

ground 1591. Museum, Copenhagen, No. 237 (44×32). • Statens Museum for Kunst, Inv. No. 738.

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83. (Plate 119) *Portrait of a Man with a Pink*. Morgan Library, New York (36.5×20). From the R. Kann collection, Paris. • Now in the Mellon collection, Washington 1601. • The painting is indeed in the Pierpont-Morgan Library, New York.

84. (Plate 119) *Portrait of a Man at Bust-Length*, with a landscape background. Museum, Brussels, No. 294 (34×25).

85. (Plate 119) *Portrait of a Young Man with an Arrow*, bust-length. Metropolitan Museum, New York, No. M 51—5 (30×24). From the Baron A. Oppenheim and Dreicer collections. • No longer in the Metropolitan Museum, New York 1611. • In the National Gallery of Art, Mellon collection, Washington D.C., Inv. No. 42; 32×26 cm.

86. (Plate 120) *Portrait of a Man at Bust-Length*, with a landscape background. Corsini Gallery, Florence (33×25). • Now on exhibition at the Palazzo Vecchio 1621.

a. (Plate 120) Collection of Lord Leconfield, Petworth (No. 123 in the catalogue of 1920—36×27). A later copy, minus the hand 1631. Petworth House, National Trust, No. 123.

87. (Plate 120) *Portrait of a Young Man with Hands Folded in Prayer*. Collection of Viscount Bearsted, London (16×12, rounded at the top). • Upton House, Banbury, National Trust.

88. (Plate 122) *Portrait of a Man with Folded Hands*. Uffizi, Florence, No. 801 (32×23). • Inv. No. 1101.

89. (Plate 121) *Portrait of a Man* with his right hand on a balustrade, landscape background. Uffizi, Florence, No. 801 bis 1641 (37×26). • 38×27 cm. Inv. No. 1102.

90. (Plate 122) *Portrait of a Man with Folded Hands*, bust-length. Uffizi, Florence, No. 780 (36×25). • Stolen during World War II, present whereabouts unknown; 35×24 cm. Inv. No. 1123.

91. (Plate 120) *Portrait of a Man at Bust-Length*, hands not showing 1651. Hampton Court. • Now in the Royal Collections at Windsor Castle; 31.3×26.2 cm.

92. (Plate 98) *Portrait of a Man*. Art market, Bilbao (1927). On the verso, in grisaille, St. Anthony 1661. • Now in the collection of A. Sachs, New York. • Now in the Art Institute, Chicago, A. Sachs Bequest; Acc. No. 53.467; 35×27 cm.

93. (Plate 124) *Portrait of a Mature Woman at Bust-Length*, hands not showing. Von

Auspitz collection, Vienna (25.6×17.7), from the von Hollitscher collection, Berlin. • Now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, Texas; Acc. No. 44.530.

94. (Plate 123) *Portrait of a Woman at Bust-Length*. St. John's Hospital, Bruges (37×22.5). Erroneously called *The Persian Sibyl*, because of an inscription added in the 16th century. Wrongly identified as Maria Moreel, second daughter of Willem Moreel (see the altarpiece).

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95. (Plate 124) *Portrait of a Woman at Bust Length*, hands not showing. Possibly cropped at the bottom. Art market, New York (1927). • Knoedler. • Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harkness bequest, Acc. No. 50.145.28; 26×20.9 cm.

96. (Plate 124) *Chastity*. Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris, No. 1033 (36×29). Done at a rather early date [167].

97. (Plate 78) *King David with a Boy*. Count Cronstedt, Stockholm (exhibited in the National Museum—25.4×19.7). Possibly the piece cut away from the Bathsheba panel in Stuttgart (No. 25) [1681]. • Now in the Art Institute, Chicago, gift of Max and Leola Epstein, Inv. No. 54.291.

CATALOGUE B: DOUBTFUL WORKS OF MEMLINC, PAINTINGS BY HIS IMITATORS, THE MASTER OF THE LEGEND OF ST. URSULA, THE MASTER OF THE BARONCELLI PORTRAITS, AND THE MASTER OF THE LEGEND OF ST. LUCY

98. (Plate 126) *Portrait of a Woman*. Formerly in the collection of King William II of the Netherlands (No. 13 in the auction of 1850 [1691—51×39]). Present whereabouts unknown. Inscribed: *Obyt AN^o DNI 1479*. Probably an original by Memlinc.

99A. (Plate 125) *The Annunciation*. In a fragmentary state, the angel is missing. Art market, London (Colnaghi, 1928). • Now in the Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, The Burrell Collection, Glasgow, 58×35 cm.

99B. (Plate 125) *The Presentation in the Temple*. Czernin collection, Vienna (see my Vol. II, No. 85—58.5×48.5). • Now in the National Gallery of Art, Kress Collection, Washington, Nos. N.G. 1389, K. 2088; 59.8×48.3 cm.

99C. (Plate 125) *The Adoration of the Magi*. Prado, Madrid, No. 1558 (60×55).

As proposed by Hulin de Loo (*Burlington Magazine*, April 1928, p. 160), these three panels are parts of an altarpiece Memlinc may have done before 1464 in Rogier's studio—see pp. 15 ff. The dimensions do not seem to agree entirely. *The Annunciation* is sharply trimmed in width [1701].

100. (Plate 126) *Virgin and Child Enthroned*, an angel on either side. Stephenson Clarke collection, Hayward's Heath (70×55). Much restored. Perhaps by an imitator. The decorations of the throne bench are untypical. • Now in the collection of Colonel Sir Ralph Clarke.

101. (Plate 127) *Portrait of James of Savoy with Folded Hands*, bust-length. Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Basle, No. 457 (38×28.5). Subscribed: *Jacques de Savoye Comte de Romont*. A copy after Memlinc. The original would appear to have been done before 1478, for the sitter is shown without the Order of the Golden Fleece, which he was awarded in that year 1711. The museum at Berne has a cope with the arms of James de Romont (see my Vol. II, p. 50). • 34×24.5 cm.

102. *Portrait of Anthony of Burgundy*.

a. (Plate 127) Museum, Dresden (45×35). An old copy after Memlinc. • Cat. No. 801; on loan from the Gemäldegalerie, Pillnitz.

b. (Plate 127) Musée Condé, Institut de France, Chantilly, No. 105 (45×35). An old copy. From the motto on the verso of the panel, *nul ne si frote*, the sitter was the natural son of Philip of Burgundy, made a Knight of the Golden Fleece in 1456.

103. (Plate 130) *Portrait of a Young Man*. Lázaro collection, Madrid. A 16th century copy after Memlinc (172). • Present location unknown; 34.5×23 cm.

104. (Plate 128) *Diptych: Virgin and Child with Four Angels; a Donor with St. George*. Pinakothek, Munich, Nos. 125-126 (40×29). Much cleaned and faded. Possibly a workshop product. 1731. • Inv. Nos.: Virgin with Angels, 680; St. George and Donor, 5; St. Anne (reverse of No. 680), 1401. Each one measures 43.3×31 cm.

a. (Plate 129) Collection of Dr. A. Figdor, Vienna. Copy of the side with the Virgin. • Sold with the Figdor collection, in Berlin, on 29th.-30th. September 1930, Lot 38; 42×30.5 cm.

b. (Plate 129) Dollfus auction, Paris, 1902 (1741, No. 85 (33.5×24-9.5)). A triptych, the centrepiece of which is a crude repetition of the side with the Virgin. Two saints, on the right and left. • Now in the Rutgers University Art Gallery, New Brunswick, New Jersey.

105. (Plate 130) *Altarpiece with Shutters: The Investiture of St. Ildefonso*. E. Pacully collection, Nice (90×40). The shutters, showing Sts. Isidore and Leander, are in the museum at Valladolid. See *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, Vol. 46, pp. 38 ff. By a Memlinc disciple who may have worked in Spain. • The centrepiece is now in the Mrs. Aldus C. Higgins collection, Worcester, Mass., 178×87 cm; the wings are in the Museo Nacional de Escultura, Valladolid; 178×38 cm each.

106. (Plate 130) *The Virgin with an Angel*. Philipps collection, Eindhoven. From the de Laborderie collection, Paris. No. 7 in the auction at Muller's, Amsterdam, 23rd May 1922 (51×32, rounded at the top). Possibly by a Memlinc disciple working in Spain. • In the Philips collection, Eindhoven (1970).

107. (Plate 131) *Virgin and Child at Half-Length*. Collection of Lord Northbrook, London (32 × 20.5). Exhibited at Bruges in 1902, No. 140. ○ Gow auction, London, May 1937. ● Now in The Robert Lehman Collection, New York.

108. (Plate 131) *Virgin and Child at Half-Length*. Friedsam collection, New York (34 × 24.5). From the Sommier collection. Exhibited in Bruges in 1902, No. 215. By the same Memlinc disciple who did the Virgin in the Northbrook collection (No. 107). ○ Now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. ● Acc. No. 32.100.58, Michael Friedsam collection.

109. (Plate 131) *The Lamentation*. Otlet collection, Brussels, auction of 1902 (66.5 × 60). ● In 1925 in the possession of the Newhouse Gallery, New York.

110. (Plate 131) *The Annunciation*. D. Roman Vicente collection, Saragossa. Exhibited in Saragossa in 1908 (Pl. 22 in the publication of 1911). Apparently by the same Memlinc imitator as No. 109 (1751). ● Now in the Mariano Vicente collection, Madrid; 74 × 66 cm.

111. (Plate 132) *Diptych: Virgin and Child at Half-Length; a Donor*. Collection of Viscount Lee of Fareham, London (Catalogue by Borenius, 1923, No. 25; 35 × 26 each). By an autonomous Bruges master, about 1490. See p. 38. ● Now in the Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, Lee Collection, No. 21a-b.

112. (Plates 132, 133) *Altarpiece* (three equal panels): Centre, *Virgin and Child*; left, the donor, Jan de Witte; right, the donor's wife. Museum, Sigmaringen (72 × 37 each). Exhibited at Bruges in 1902, No. 49. Inscribed with the date 1473. See my publication on the Bruges exhibition, Pl. 36. By an excellent Bruges contemporary of Memlinc (1761). See p. 38. ● Now in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, Inv. No. 7007.

THE MASTER OF THE LEGEND OF ST. URSULA

113. (Plates 134-139) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters, Each with Four Scenes from the Legend of St. Ursula*. Verso, in grisaille, the evangelists and church fathers. Convent of the Black Sisters, Bruges (48 × 30, each scene). Two panels, representing the Church and the Synagogue, at the same place, belong with these shutters (1771). ● All panels are now in the Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Groningemuseum, Bruges; Inv. Nos. 1542, 1543, 1544 and 1545. The two small shutters measure 59 × 18.5 cm each.

114. (Plate 140) *Altarpiece with Shutters*: Centre, *The Nativity*; left, *The Visitation*; right, the donor with an archangel; verso, *The Annunciation* (1781). Museum, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Baden. ● Now in the Institute of Arts, Detroit, Mich., No. 59.122; 65 × 52.8—24.3 cm.

115. (Plate 141) *Altarpiece with Shutters*: Centre, *The Virgin Enthroned*, with a

clerical donor; right, *St. Catherine*; left, *The Magdalene*. Episcopal collection, Chur (1791). • Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Dresden, Cat. No. 3575; 44.5 × 31—13.5 cm.

116. (Plate 142) *Diptych: Virgin and Child*; the donor with two women. Friedsam collection, New York. From the F. Murray collection. Dated 1486, by inscription. • Now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (1801). • Now in the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp, Inv. Nos. 5004—5004 bis; 28 × 21 cm each.

117. (Plate 143) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters: St. Paul and a Donor; Christ Appearing to his Mother*. Friedsam collection, New York. The second shutter copied after Rogier (see my Vol. II, No. 41 (1811)). • Now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. • Michael Friedsam collection, Acc. Nos. 32.100.63 A and 32.100.63 B; 95 × 28.5 cm.

118. (Plate 143) *Virgin and Child with St. Anne*, with Sts. Louis, Barbara, John the Baptist and Catherine. A. Lederer collection, Vienna (81 × 125). From the von Kaufmann collection, No. 71 in the Berlin auction of 1914 (1821). • Now in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, No. 1158.

119. (Plate 144) *Virgin and Child with St. Anne*, and a donatrix. Ph. Lehman collection, New York. Inscribed: *De nieuwenhove coniuX Domicella... Amen*, with the date, 1488. Original frame with arms. • The Robert Lehman Collection, New York.

120. (Plate 144) *Virgin and Child at Half-Length*. Metropolitan Museum, New York (66.5 × 46, rounded at the top). Free after Rogier (see my Vol. II, No. 107g). • Acc. No. 17.190.16, gift of J. P. Morgan; 56.2 × 34.3 cm.

121. (Plate 144) *Virgin and Child*, the child holding an apple. Museum, Aachen (49 × 31.5). Free after Rogier (see my Vol. II, No. 109).

a. (Plate 144) Art market, Berlin (1925). A replica of equivalent merit, with slight departures. • In 1925 in the possession of the art dealer Kunze Graefe, present whereabouts unknown; 48 × 32 cm.

b. (Plate 144) Art market, New York (Knoedler, 1928—52 × 32). From the Yandolo and Lazzaroni collections, Rome. Replica of equivalent merit, with slight departures. • Now in the Art Museum, Worcester, Mass., Acc. 1936.6.

122. (Plate 145) *Virgin and Child*, with eight angels. Van Gelder collection, Uccle, near Brussels. Free after Rogier (see my Vol. II, No. 108). Formerly with Conte Palmieri, Florence, and Herr L. Nardus. • Now in the Busch-Reisinger Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., Inv. No. 1965.23; 41.4 × 29.7 cm.

123. (Plate 146) *Virgin and Child at Half-Length* (1831). Art market, Munich (Böhler, 1914). • Now in the possession of Galerie Themis, Brussels (1934). • Now in the F. Heulens collection, Brussels, 42.8 × 30.5 cm.

124. (Plate 146) *Virgin and Child at Half-Length*. Turner auction, Berlin, 1908 1841. ● Present whereabouts unknown.
125. (Plate 146) *Virgin and Child*, with two angels 1851. Van Stolk collection, Haarlem (32.5 × 23.5). Sold in 1907, subsequently on the art market in Amsterdam and Brussels. ● Now in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Balch collection, No. L. 2100.44-1077.
126. (Plate 146) *Virgin and Child*, with an angel. Van Gelder collection, Uccle, near Brussels (36 × 27). Originally a tondo, extended to rectangular form 1861. ● Present whereabouts unknown.
127. (Plate 147) *Virgin and Child*, with two angels. Museum, Sigmaringen. Formerly in the Imbert collection, Rome. ○ Exhibited in New York by A. S. Drey in 1928 (36 × 27). ● Now in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Schloss Rohoncz Foundation, Castagnola near Lugano; 36 × 26 cm.
128. (Plate 147) *The Virgin Enthroned*, with St. John the Baptist. Wedells collection, Hamburg (44 × 37). From the Yerkes collection, New York. ● Now in the Kunsthalle, Hamburg.
129. (Plate 147) *The Virgin Adoring the Child*, with St. John the Baptist and an episcopal saint. Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin (Reserve), No. 531 (27 × 32). ● Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.
130. (Plate 148) *The Countenance of Christ*, bust-length, head on. Collection of Dr. Wendland, Lugano.
131. (Plate 148) *St. Veronica with the Veil*. Paris, collection of Countess Durrieu (59 × 37, rounded at the top).
132. (Plate 148) *Veil with the Imprint of the Face of Christ*, borne by two angels. Seminario, Venice. ● Pinacoteca Manfrediana, ± 50 × 32 cm.
133. (Plate 149) *Portrait of a Young Man*. Accademia, Bergamo (Carrara collection—38 × 31).
134. (Plate 145) *Portrait of a Young Man*. John. G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia (Catalogue II, No. 327—39 × 29). Verso: arms and the initials L—P 1871.
135. (Plate 149) *Portrait of a Man*. Donaldson collection, London. Present whereabouts unknown. ● 33 × 24 cm.
136. (Plate 149) *Portrait of a Woman*. Mayer van den Bergh Museum, Antwerp (Catalogue No. 8—24.5 × 20.5) ● No. 355 (Cat. 1960).

137. (Plates 150) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters: Portraits of Pierantonio Bandini Baroncelli and His Wife*; verso, *The Annunciation*. Uffizi, Florence, No. 749 (55 × 30 each). From the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova. See Warburg, *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. 23, 1902, p. 264.

138. (Plate 151) *Female Saint with a Donor and Two Women*. Collection of Viscount Lee of Fareham, London (91 × 65). From the collection of Lord Taunton. The saint is said to be Joan of Valois. According to A. van der Put, the donor is Giacomo di Giovanni d'Antonio Loiani of Bologna, who married a Flemish wife (see the catalogue of the exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art, London, 1927, No. 71) 1881. • Now in the Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, Lee Collection, No. 26.

THE MASTER OF THE LEGEND OF ST. LUCY

139. (Plates 152-154) *The Legend of St. Lucy*, in three scenes, side by side. Church of St. James, Bruges (71 × 182). Inscribed top centre: *Dit was ghedaen int iaer MCCCCLXXX*. Arms in the window of the central panel.

140. (Plate 151) *Altarpiece with Shutters: Centre, The Virgin Enthroned*, with two angels; left, the donor with a saint; right, *St. Jerome*. Heugel collection, Paris (80 × 68—29). Formerly in the Toscanelli collection (album Pl. 37a, reproduced in Reinach, *Répertoire*, Vol. 1, p. 182). See my Vol. III, No. 91a 1891. After Dieric Bouts (?). • Now in the County Museum of Art, Los Angeles, California; 80 × 67.9—27.9 cm.

141. (Plate 156) *Altarpiece with Shutters: Centre, The Lamentation*; left, *St. John the Baptist*; right, *St. Catherine* 1901. Art market, London (Spanish Art Gallery, 1913—88 × 65.5—28). From private hands in Spain. • Now in The Institute of Arts, Minneapolis, Acc. No. 35.7.87.

142. (Plate 157) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters: St. John the Baptist; St. Catherine*. Art market, Amsterdam (82 × 24.5 each). From the collection of the Duke of Norfolk, Arundel Castle. • Now, collection of Viscount Bearsted, London. • Now in the Bearsted collection, Upton House, Banbury (National Trust).

143. (Plate 157) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters: St. Adrian*, with a donor; *St. James*, with a donatrix. Art market, Munich (Richter, 1924; 66 × 22.5 each). • Present location unknown.

144. (Plate 158) *The Adoration of the Magi*. Kobler collection, New York (88 × 68). From the Chillingworth collection, Nuremberg. • Now in the Timken Art Gallery, Putnam Foundation Collection, San Diego, California, 57 × 41 cm.

145. (Plate 237) *Christ on the Cross*, with a kneeling donor 1911. Art market, Amsterdam (Hoogendijk, 1927; 43 × 33). • Now in the Barber Institute of Fine Arts, The University, Birmingham.

146. (Plate 158) *Virgin and Child at Half-Length*. Collection of Freiherr von Tucher, Munich. Reproduced in *Münchener Jahrbuch*, 1910, Vol. 2, p. 15 (see my Vol. III, No. 93c) 1921. After Dieric Bouts (?). • Now in the Museum of Art, Baltimore Md., 32.3 × 21.7 cm.

147. (Plate 158) *Virgin and Child at Half-Length*. Wyckhuysen collection, Roulers (34 × 25). Much restored 1931. • Later in the Jos. van der Veken collection, Brussels.

148. (Plate 159) *Virgin and Child at Half-Length*. Art market, Paris 1941 (Jamarin, 1926; 48 × 37). • Now in a private collection, Amsterdam, 46 × 35.5 cm.

149. (Plate 159) *Virgin and Child at Half-Length*. Fondi auction, Rome, 1895 (39 × 31). Later on the art market in Munich and London (41 × 32) 1951. • Now in the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Mass., Cat. No. 407 (1957), 40.5 × 32.2 cm.

150. (Plate 158) *Virgin and Child at Half-Length*. Schall collection, Berlin (25 × 19) 1961. • Present location unknown.

151. (Plate 160) *The Virgin Enthroned*. Art market, London (Spanish Art Gallery—132 × 80). From Granada. • Subsequently in the possession of the art dealer Böhler, Munich. • Now in the Marina di Stefano collection, Genoa.

152. (Plate 160) *The Virgin Enthroned*, with two angels 1971. A. Sachs collection, New York. • Now on the Paris art market. • Now in a private collection, Geneva, 44 × 33.5 cm.

152A. (Plate 160) *The Virgin Enthroned*, with two angels. Earl of Ellenborough auction, London, 1914, present whereabouts unknown (64 × 48). • Now in the Goldman collection, New York. • Now in the California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco, California, 79 × 52 cm.

152B. (Plate 160) *Virgin and Child at Knee-Length*, with two music-making angels to the side 1981. Art market, New York (Kleinberger). From the L. Goldschmidt collection, Paris. • Now in the Museum of Art, Carnegie Institute, Howard A. Noble collection, Pittsburg, Pa., 59 × 53 cm.

153. (Plate 161) *The Virgin Enthroned*, with many singing and music-making angels. Von Schulthess-Bodmer collection, Zurich. The angels are partly borrowed from the Ghent altarpiece 1991.

154. (Plate 162) *The Madonna of the Rose Arbour*, with Sts. Catherine, Barbara,

Ursula and Cecilia. Institute of Arts, Detroit (78 × 60). From the Weber collection, Brussels (Amsterdam auction of 1926). ● Acc. No. 26.387.

155. (Plate 161) *The Virgin with Eleven Female Saints*. Museum, Brussels, No. 545 (106 × 170). According to Weale, this was donated in 1489 for an altarpiece for the Church of Notre Dame in Bruges by the confraternity *De Drie Sanctinnen*. The kneeling Magdalene is after Rogier's *Deposition* in the Uffizi (1001).

156. (Plate 146) *Virgin and Child at Half-Length*, with two angels. Schlayer collection, Madrid (33 × 24). The throne resembles in style one seen repeatedly with the Master of the Legend of St. Ursula (1011). ● Now in the County Museum of Art, Los Angeles, California.

157. (Plate 163) *St. Catherine*, full-length, standing. John G. Johnson collection, Philadelphia (Catalogue II, No. 326; 65 × 25).

158. (Plate 163) *St. Catherine*, full-length, standing. Museum, Pisa. With a three-part predella, inserted in a an altarpiece that appears to be Spanish. ● Museo Nazionale di San Matteo, No. 251.

PHOTOGRAPHS

Unless listed below, photos were supplied by the museums, institutions or collectors owning the works. Numbers within brackets refer to the catalogues.

A.C.L., Brussels: Plates 4, 5, 6, 7, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 48, 49 (Supp. 225); 50, 51, 52, 53, 55 (16A), 56, 57, 64, 65, 66 (23B), 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 80 (30), 86 (34), 87, 88 (35), 89 (37a), 89 (37c), 90 (39), 90 (Supp. 229), 96, 99 (51), 99 (51a), 100 (53), 101 (55), 102 (57), 109, 110, 111, 114 (71), 114 (72), 116 (76), 117 (77), 117 (80), 119 (84), 120 (87), 123 (94), 124 (96), 126 (100), 127 (102b), 134, 135, 136, 137, 140, 141 (118), 142 (121a), 144 (126), 147 (136), 150, 154, 156 (147), 157 (155)
 Alinari, Florence: Plates 16 (4A), 88 (36), 92 (41), 92 (41b), 120 (86)
 Bijl, Amsterdam: Plate 36 (9b)
 P. Bijtebier, Brussels: Plates 22, 49 (14a)
 Blinkhorn-Haynes, Banbury, Oxon: Plate 155 (142)
 Brunel, Lugano: Plate 145 (127)
 Brusselle, Bruges: Plates 12, 13
 H. Busch-Hauck, Frankfurt/M.: Plate 114 (73)
 Cameraphoto, Venice: Plate 16 (4a)
 W. Castelli, Lübeck: Plates 8, 9, 10, 11
 A. C. Cooper, Ltd., London: Plate 120 (91)
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A. Dingjan, The Hague: Plates 15, 118
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 Moulin Studios, San Francisco, Calif.: Plate 156 (152A)
 Ann Münchow, Aachen: Plate 142 (121)
 Naya, Venice: Plate 108 (65a)
 S. W. Newberg, London: Plate 120 (86a)
 Pfaunder, Dresden: Plate 127 (102a)
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 W. Steinkopf, Berlin-Dahlem: Plates 66 (23A), 67, 103, 104 (58), 116 (75), 145 (129)
 Ch. Tauss, New York: Plate 88 (36A)
 H. Vanhaelewijn, Bruges: Plates 45, 46, 47
 John F. Waggaman, La Jolla, California: Plate 156 (144)
 The Wallace Collection (by permission of the Trustees), London: Plate 93 (42)

Plates



1. Memlinc. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi. *Madrid, Museo del Prado*



1. Memling. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi, Centrepiece. *Madrid, Museo del Prado*



1. Memlinc. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi, Shuttters, Nativity and Presentation in the Temple.
Madrid, Museo del Prado



2. Memlinc. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi. Bruges, St. John's Hospital



2. Memling. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi, Centrepiece. *Bruges, St. John's Hospital*



2. Memlinc. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi, Shuttters, Nativity and Presentation in the Temple.
Bruges, St. John's Hospital



2. Memlinc. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi, Reverse of the Shutters, St. John the Baptist and St. Veronica. *Bruges, St. John's Hospital*



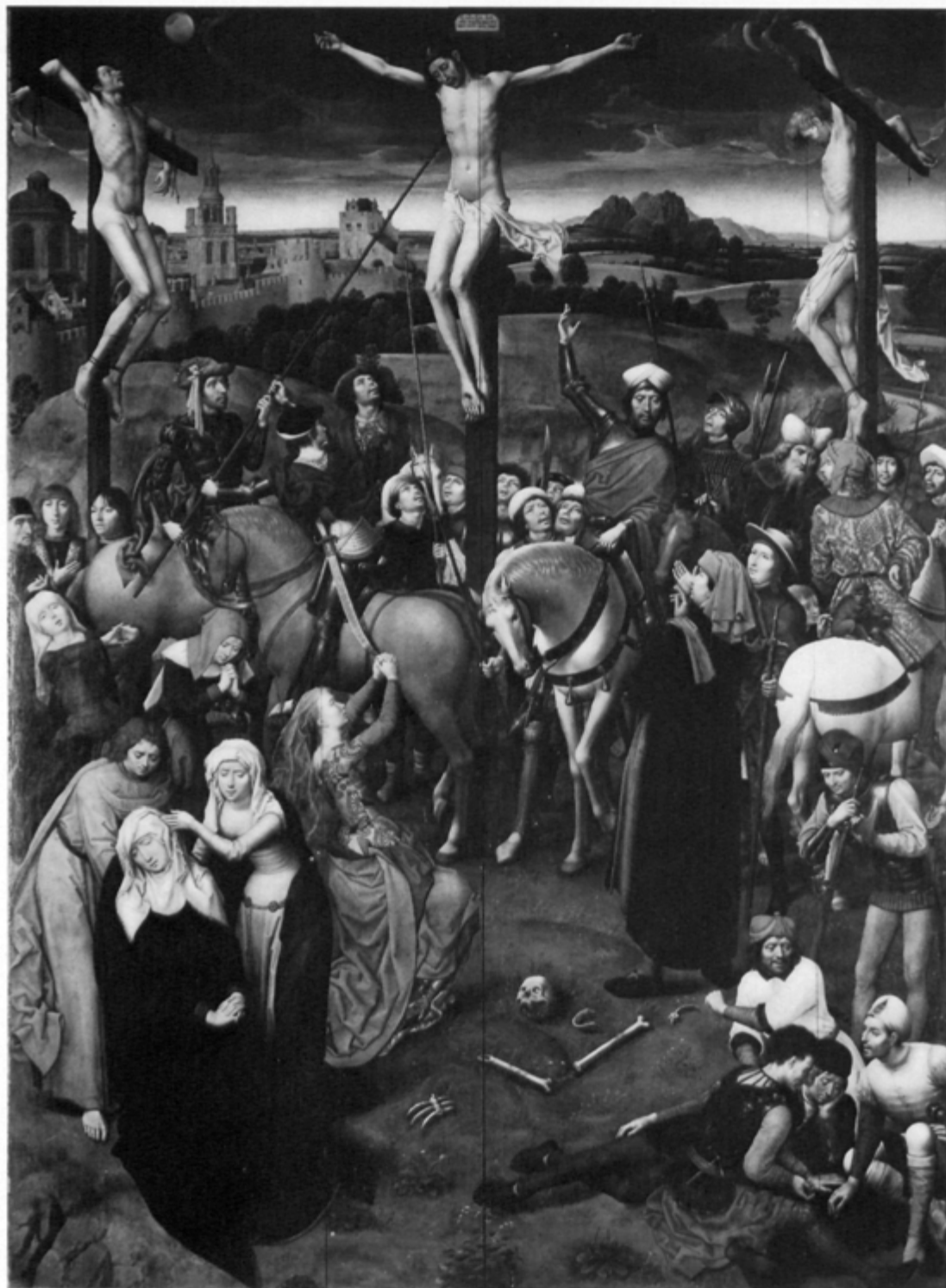
3. Memling. Altarpiece of the Crucifixion. Lübeck, St. Annen Museum



Plate
9



3. Memlinc. Altarpiece of the Crucifixion, Reverse of the Shutters, St. John the Baptist and St. Jerome; Second Shutters, St. Blaise and St. Giles; Reverse of the Second Shutters, Annunciation. Lübeck, *St. Annen Museum*



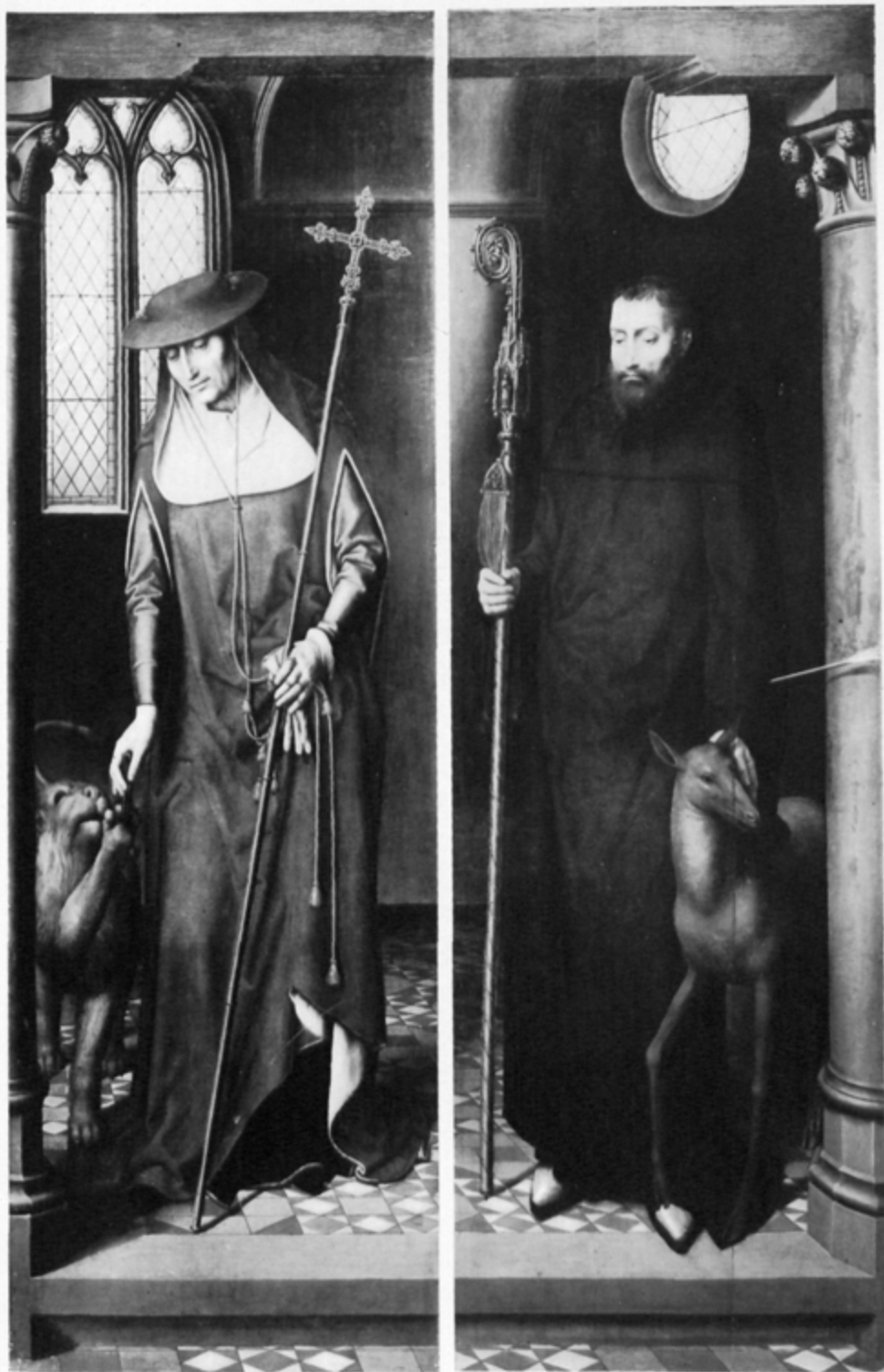
3. Memling. Altarpiece of the Crucifixion, Centrepiece. Lübeck, St. Annen Museum



3. Memlinc. Altarpiece of the Crucifixion, Shutters, Christ Carrying the Cross and Resurrection. *Lübeck, St. Annen Museum*



3. Memling. Altarpiece of the Crucifixion, open for the first time, Left Half, St. Blaise and St. John the Baptist. Lübeck, St. Annen Museum

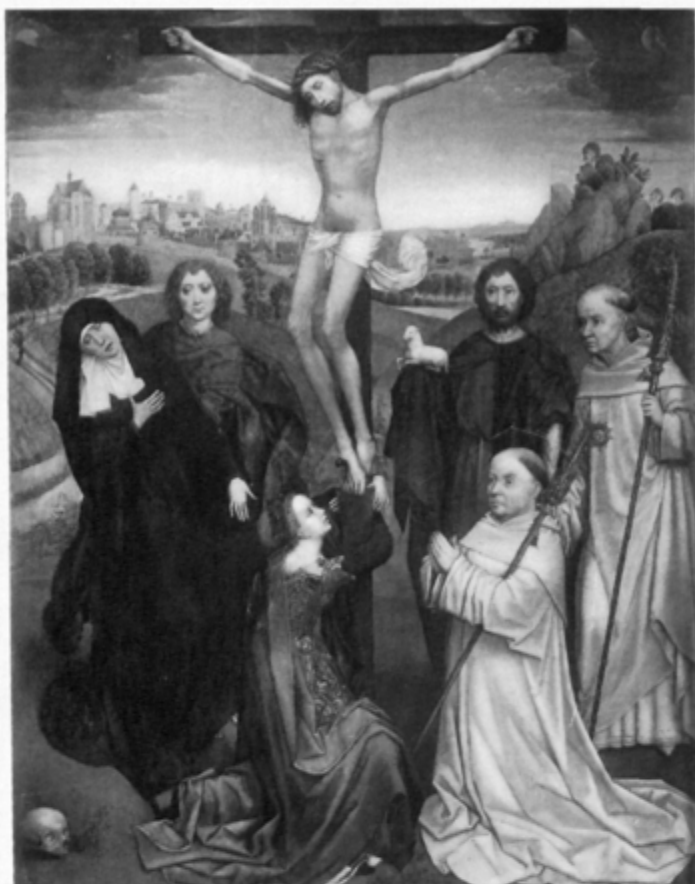


3. Memlinc. Altarpiece of the Crucifixion, open for the first time, Right Half, St. Jerome and St. Giles. *Lübeck, St. Annen Museum*



3a. Memling, free copy. Altarpiece of the Crucifixion. Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts





4B | 4A | 4B

Add. 261 | 4a

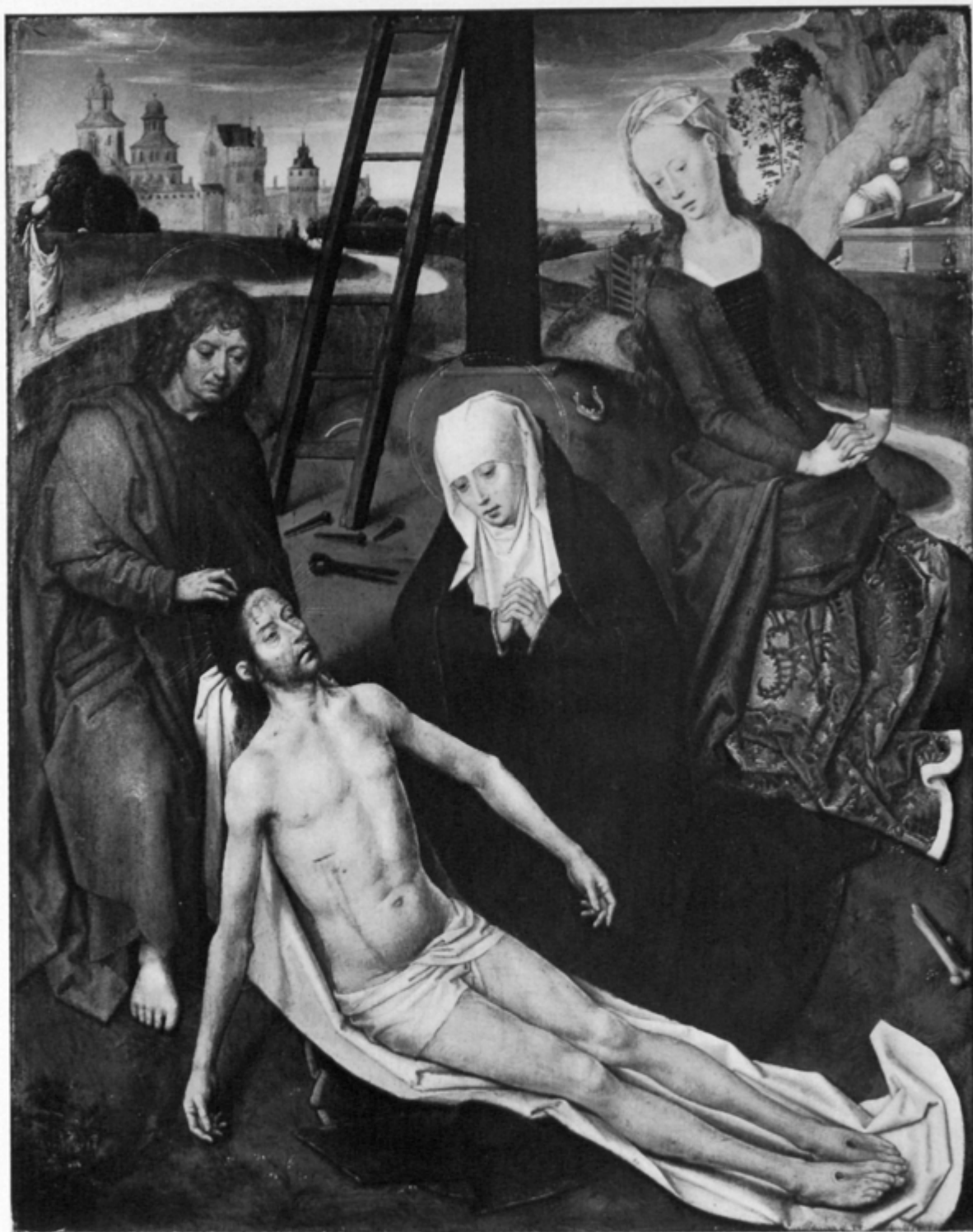
4A., 4B. and Add. 261. Memlinc. Altarpiece of the Crucifixion; Centrepiece, *Vicenza, Museo Civico*; Shutters with Donors, *New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library*; Reverse, Annunciation, *Bruges, Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (Groeninge Museum)*. 4a. Memlinc, copy. Crucifixion. *Venice, Cà d'Oro, on loan from the Gallerie dell'Accademia*



4B. Memlinc. Altarpiece of the Crucifixion, Shutters, Donatrix with a Female Saint and Donor with St. William. *New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library*



5. Memlinc. Altarpiece of the Lamentation. *Bruges, St John's Hospital*



5. Memling. Altarpiece of the Lamentation, Centrepiece. *Bruges, St. John's Hospital*



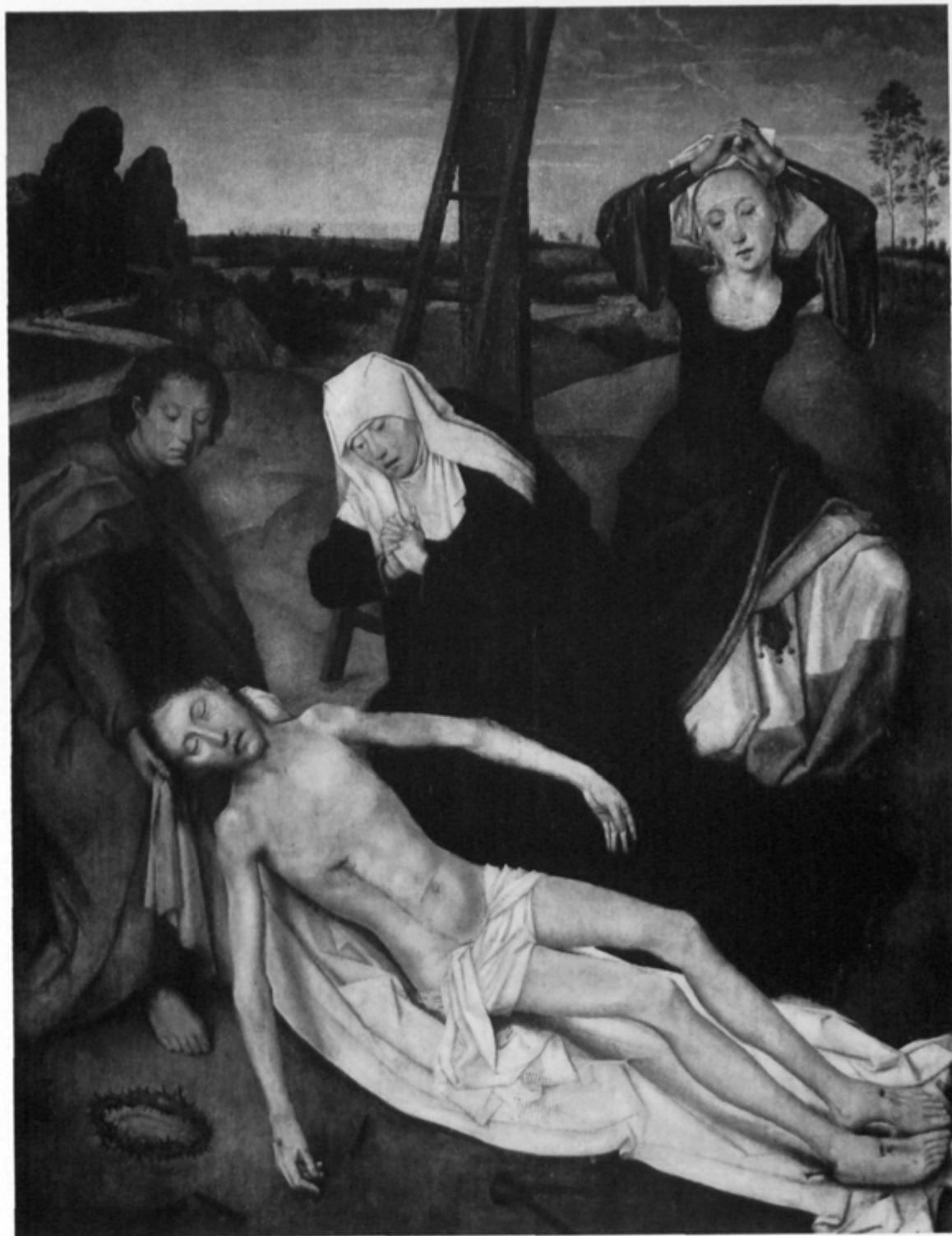
5. Memlinc. Altarpiece of the Lamentation, Shutters, Donor with St. Adrian; St. Barbara.
Bruges, St. John's Hospital



5. Memling. Altarpiece of the Lamentation, Reverse of the Shutters, St. Wilgefortis and St. Mary of Egypt. *Bruges, St. John's Hospital*



6. Memlinc. Altarpiece of the Lamentation. Before the Fire of 1917, when in the *von Kaufmann Collection, Berlin*. The Shutters, Sts. James the Major and Christopher. Now *Luxemburg, Private Collection*



6. Memlinc. Altarpiece of the Lamentation, Centrepiece. Now Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen



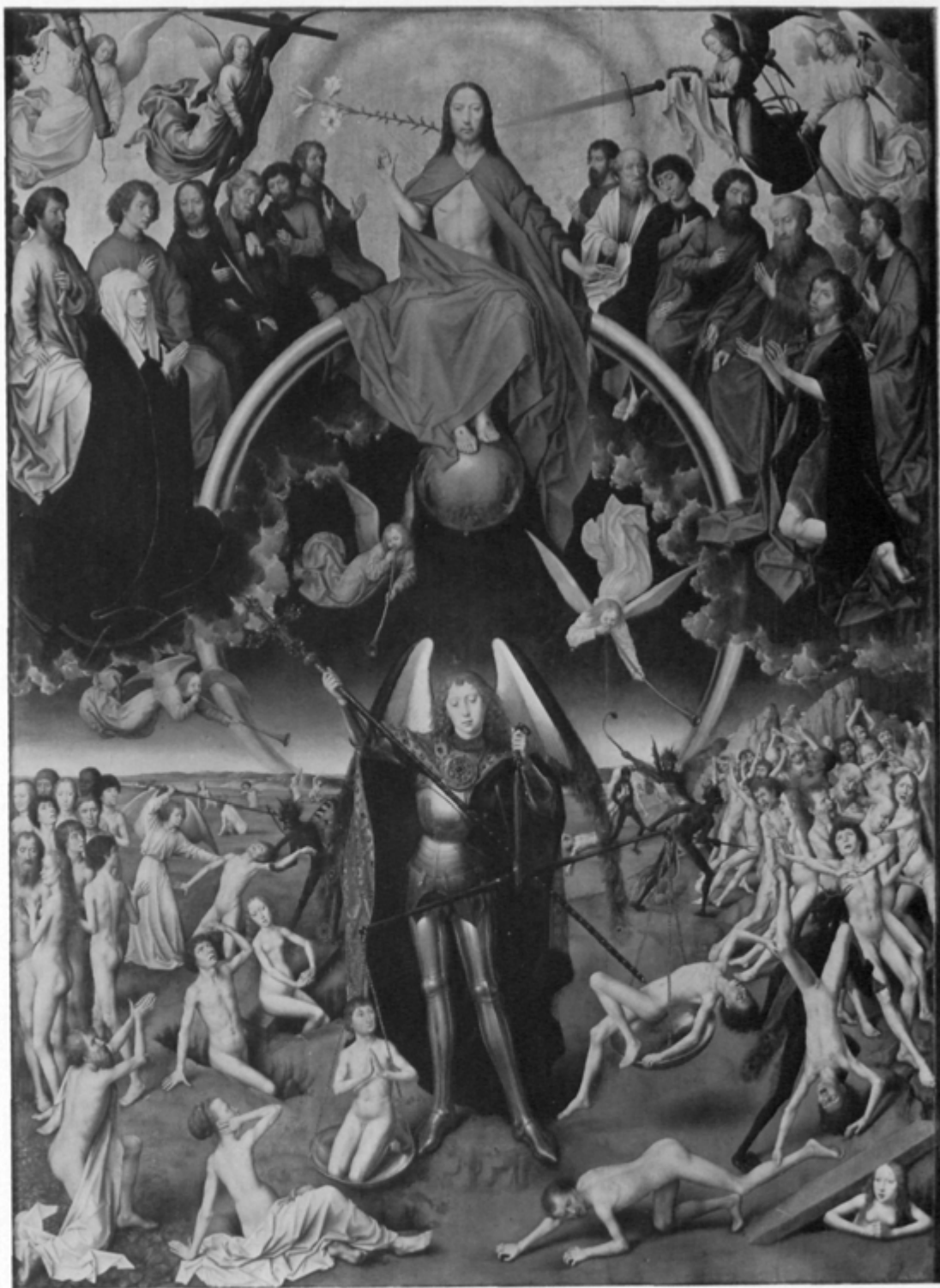
7. Memlinc. Altarpiece of the Resurrection. *Paris, Musée du Louvre*



7. Memlinc. Altarpiece of the Resurrection. Centrepiece. Paris, Musée du Louvre



8. Memlinc. Altarpiece of the Last Judgment. *Danzig, Muzeum Pomorskie*



8. Memling. Altarpiece of the Last Judgment, Centrepiece. Danzig, Muzeum Pomorskie



8. Memlinc. Altarpiece of the Last Judgment, Shutters, Heaven and Hell. *Danzig, Muzeum Pomorskie*



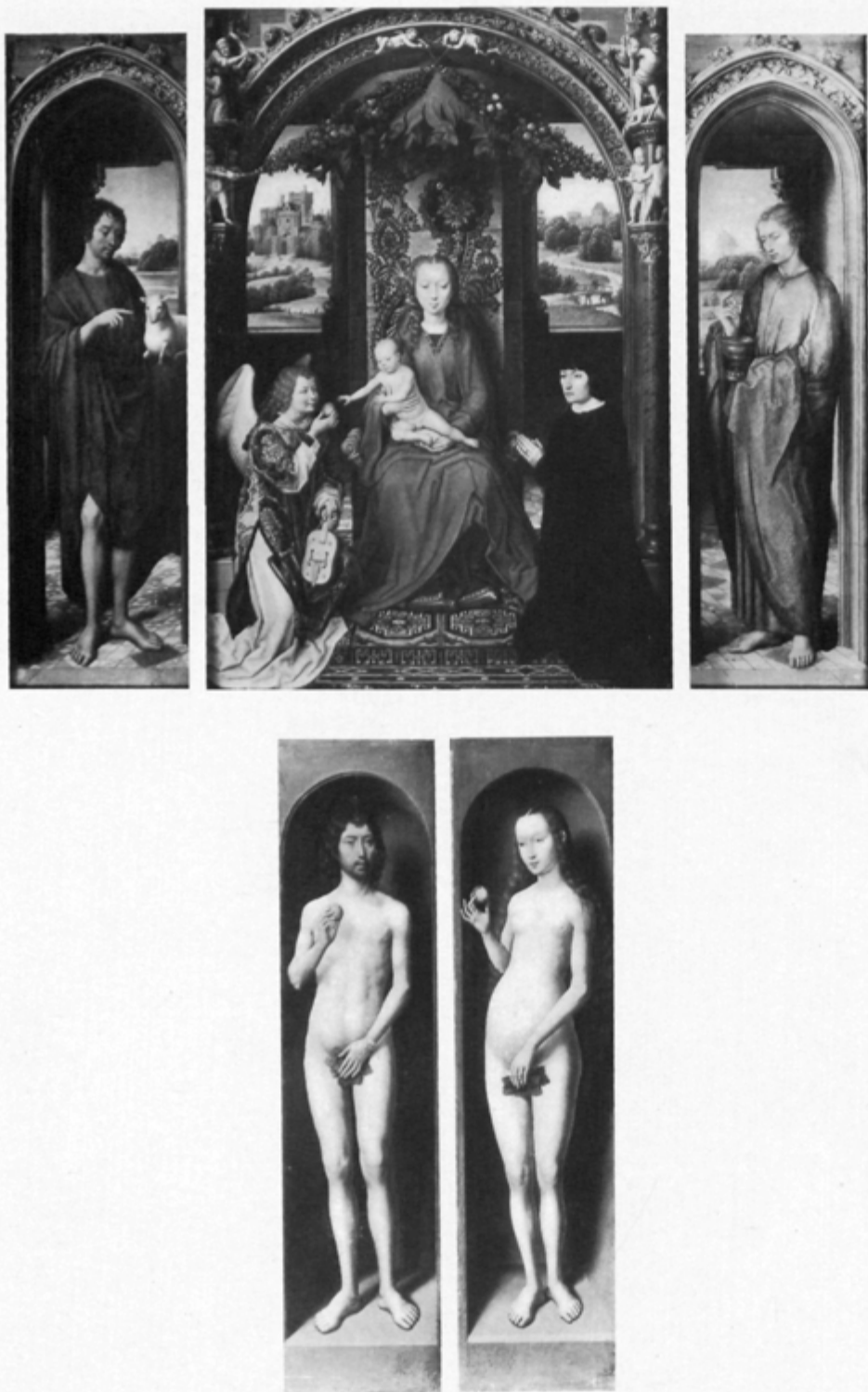
8. Memlinc. Altarpiece of the Last Judgment, Reverse of the Shutters, Virgin with the Donor, St. Michael with the Donatrix. *Danzig, Muzeum Pomorskie*



8. Memlinc. Altarpiece of the Last Judgment, Detail of the Right Shutter, Damned Falling into Hell. Danzig, *Muzeum Pomorskie*



8. Memline. Altarpiece of the Last Judgment, Detail of the Reverse of the Right Shutter, the Donatrix. *Danzig, Muzeum Pomorskie*



9. Memling. Altarpiece of the Virgin Enthroned. *Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum*



9. Memlinc. Altarpiece of the Virgin Enthroned, Centrepiece. *Vienna, Kunthistorisches Museum*



9. Memlinc. Altarpiece of the Virgin Enthroned, Shutters, St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist. *Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum*



9. Memlinc. Altarpiece of the Virgin Enthroned, Reverse of the Shutters, Adam and Eve. *Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum*



9b | 9d
9c

9b. Memlinc, copy. *Virgin Enthroned*. Amsterdam, *Stichting Collectie P. and N. de Boer*. 9d. Memlinc, replica. *Virgin Enthroned with the Donor C. de Hondt*. *Present location unknown*. 9c. Memlinc, copy. *St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist*. *Present location unknown*



10. Memlinc. Altarpiece of the Virgin Enthroned with Saints, Angels and the Donor Sir John Donne of Kidwelly and his Family. *London, National Gallery*



10. Memling. Altarpiece of the Virgin Enthroned with Saints, Angels and the Donor Sir John Donne of Kidwelly and his Family, Centrepiece. *London, National Gallery*



10. Memlinc. Altarpiece of the Virgin Enthroned with Saints, Angels and the Donor Sir John Donne of Kidwelly and his Family; Shutters, St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist. London, *National Gallery*



10. Memlinc. Altarpiece of the Virgin Enthroned with Saints, Angels and the Donor Sir John Donne of Kidwelly and his Family; Reverse of the Shutters, St. Christopher and St. Anthony Abbot. *London, National Gallery*



11. Memlinc. Altarpiece of the Virgin Enthroned with Saints and Angels. Bruges, *St. John's Hospital*



11. Memlinc. Altarpiece of the Virgin Enthroned with Saints and Angels, Centrepiece. *Bruges, St. John's Hospital*



11. Memling. Altarpiece of the Virgin Enthroned with Saints and Angels, Shutters, Beheading of St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist on Patmos. *Bruges, St. John's Hospital*



11. Memlinc. Altarpiece of the Virgin Enthroned with Saints and Angels, Reverse of the Shutters, Saints and Donors. Bruges, *St. John's Hospital*.



12. Memling. Altarpiece of St. Christopher. Bruges, *Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten* (Groeninge Museum)



12
12a

12. Memling. Altarpiece of St. Christopher, Centrepiece. *Bruges, Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (Groeninge Museum)*. 12a. Memling, copy. Altarpiece of St. Christopher. *Present location unknown*



12. Memlinc. Altarpiece of St. Christopher. Shutter with the Donor, Willem Moreel, his Family and Patron Saints. Bruges, *Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten* (Groeninge Museum)

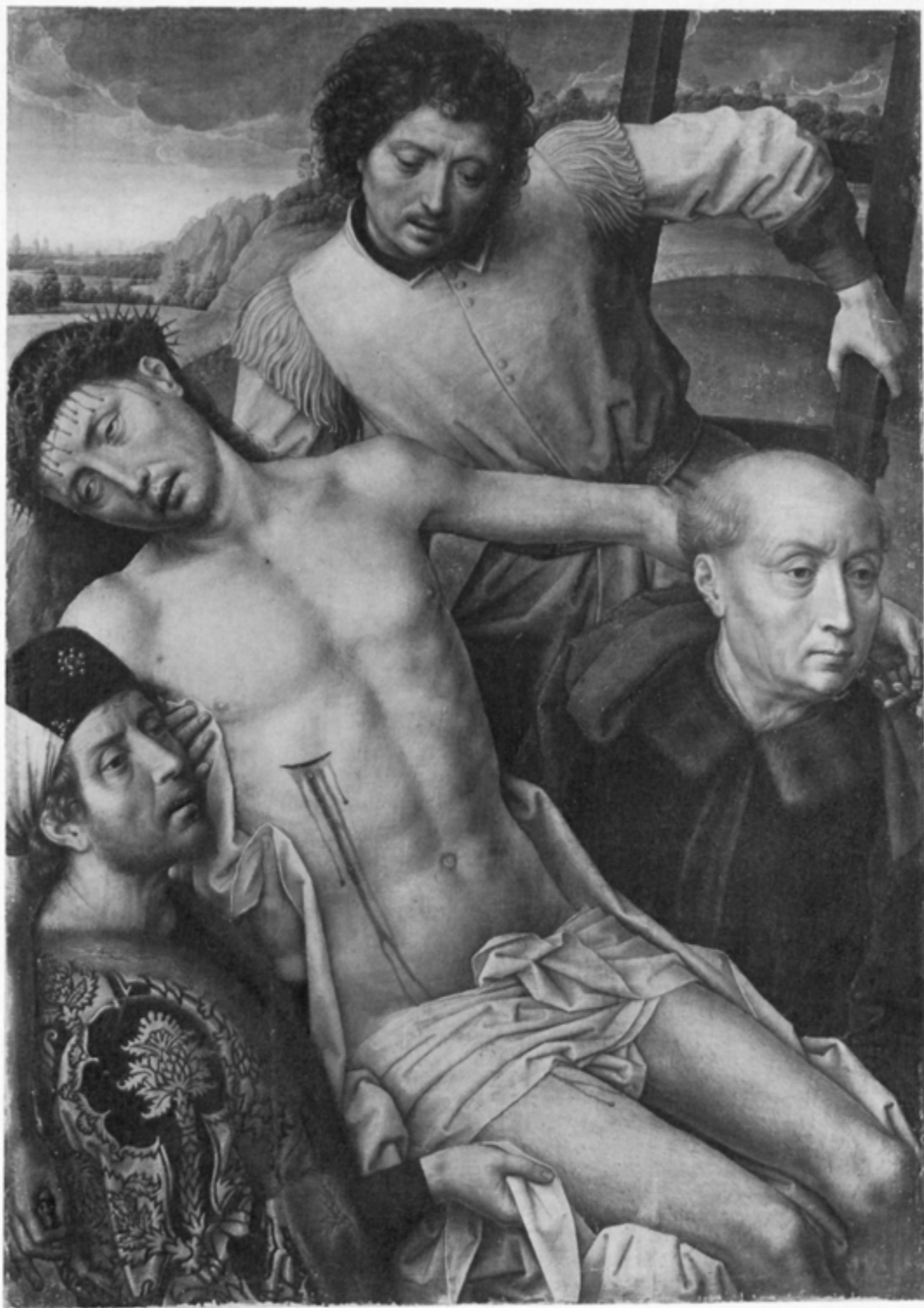


12. Memlinc. Altarpiece of St. Christopher, Reverse of the Shutters, St. George and John the Baptist. Bruges, *Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten* (Groeninge Museum)



13a | Supp. 225
14a

13a. Memlinc, replica. Diptych of the Deposition. *New York, D. Sickles Gallery; Supp. 225. Mourners. São Paulo, Museu de Arte.* 14a. Memlinc, copy. *Virgin with Angels. Belgium, Private Collection*



13. Memling. Diptych of the Deposition, Left Panel, Deposition. *Granada, Capilla Real*



13. Memling. Diptych of the Deposition, Right Panel, Mourners. *Granada, Capilla Real*



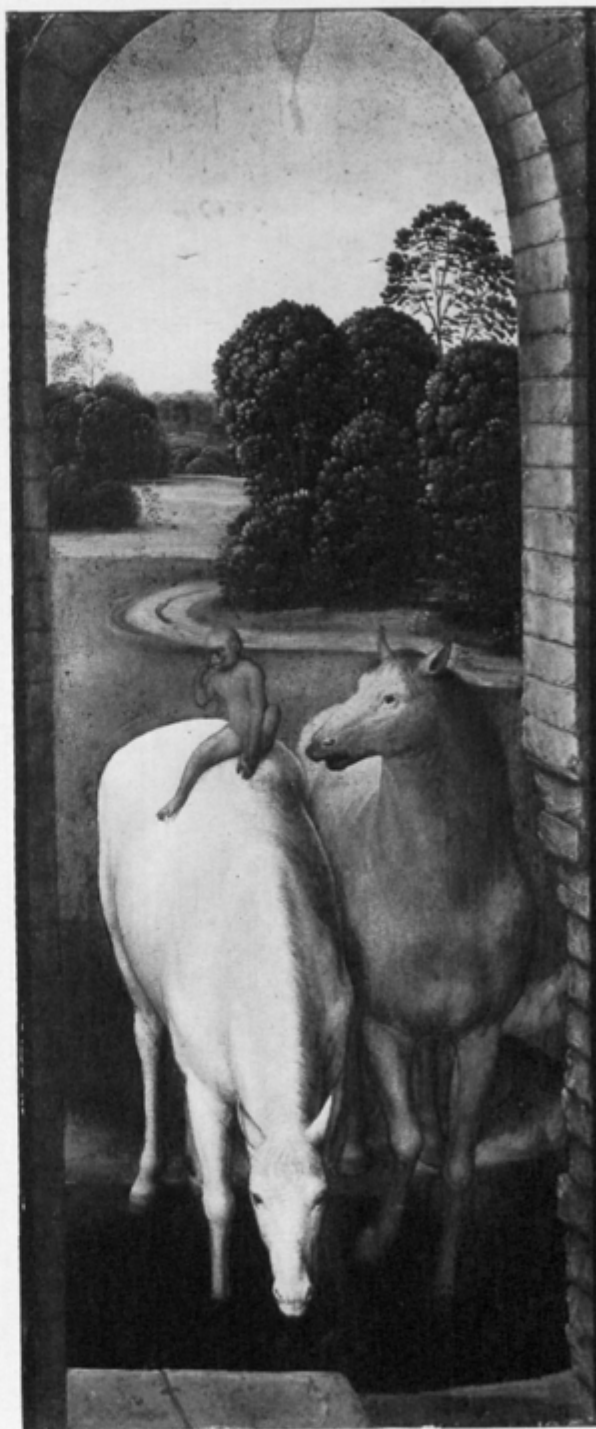
14. Memling. Diptych, Left Panel, Virgin and Child. Bruges, St. John's Hospital



14. Memling. Diptych, Right Panel, the Donor, Martin van Nieuwenhove. *Bruges, St. John's Hospital*



15. Memlinc. Diptych, Virgin and Child with Saints, St. John the Baptist with a Donor. *Paris, Musée du Louvre*



16. Memling. Two Panels from an Altarpiece (?), 16B. Portrait of a Young Woman. *New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, J. S. Bache Collection*; 16A. Two Horses and an Ape. *Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen*



17. Memlinc. Two Shutters, St. John the Baptist and St. Mary Magdalene. *Paris, Musée du Louvre*



18. Memlinc. Two Shutters. Sts. Stephen and Christopher. Cincinnati, The Cincinnati Art Museum



19. Memlinc. Two Shutters, Sts. John the Baptist and Lawrence. *London, National Gallery*



19. Memlinc. Shutters with Sts. John the Baptist and Lawrence, Reverse, Cranes. *London, National Gallery*



20. Memlinc. Fragments (?) of Two Shutters, Donor with his Son and Donatrix. *Bucharest, Art Museum*



21. Memlinc. Six Panels from an Altarpiece, Death, God with Angels, Devil, Vanity; Reverse(?), Weapons and Skull.
Strasbourg, Musée des Beaux-Arts



21. Memlinc. Two Panels from an Altarpiece, Death, God with Angels. *Strasbourg, Musée des Beaux-Arts*





22. Memlinc. Altarpiece with God and Music-Making Angels. *Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten. The Same, Left Shutter*



22. Memlinc. Altarpiece with God and Music-Making Angels, Centrepiece and Right Shutter, Music-Making Angels. *Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*



23C 23A	23B
	23B

23, C, A, and B. Memling. Devotional Triptych, Centrepiece, Virgin and Child. *Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*; Shutters, St. Benedict and Portrait of a Young Man, with Reverse, Coat of Arms. *Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi*.



23A. Memlinc. Devotional Triptych, Centrepiece, Virgin and Child. *Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*



24. Memlinc. Shrine of St. Ursula. Bruges, St. John's Hospital



24. Memlinc. Shrine of St. Ursula. Bruges, *St. John's Hospital*



24. Memling. Shrine of St. Ursula. Landing in Cologne. *Bruges, St. John's Hospital*



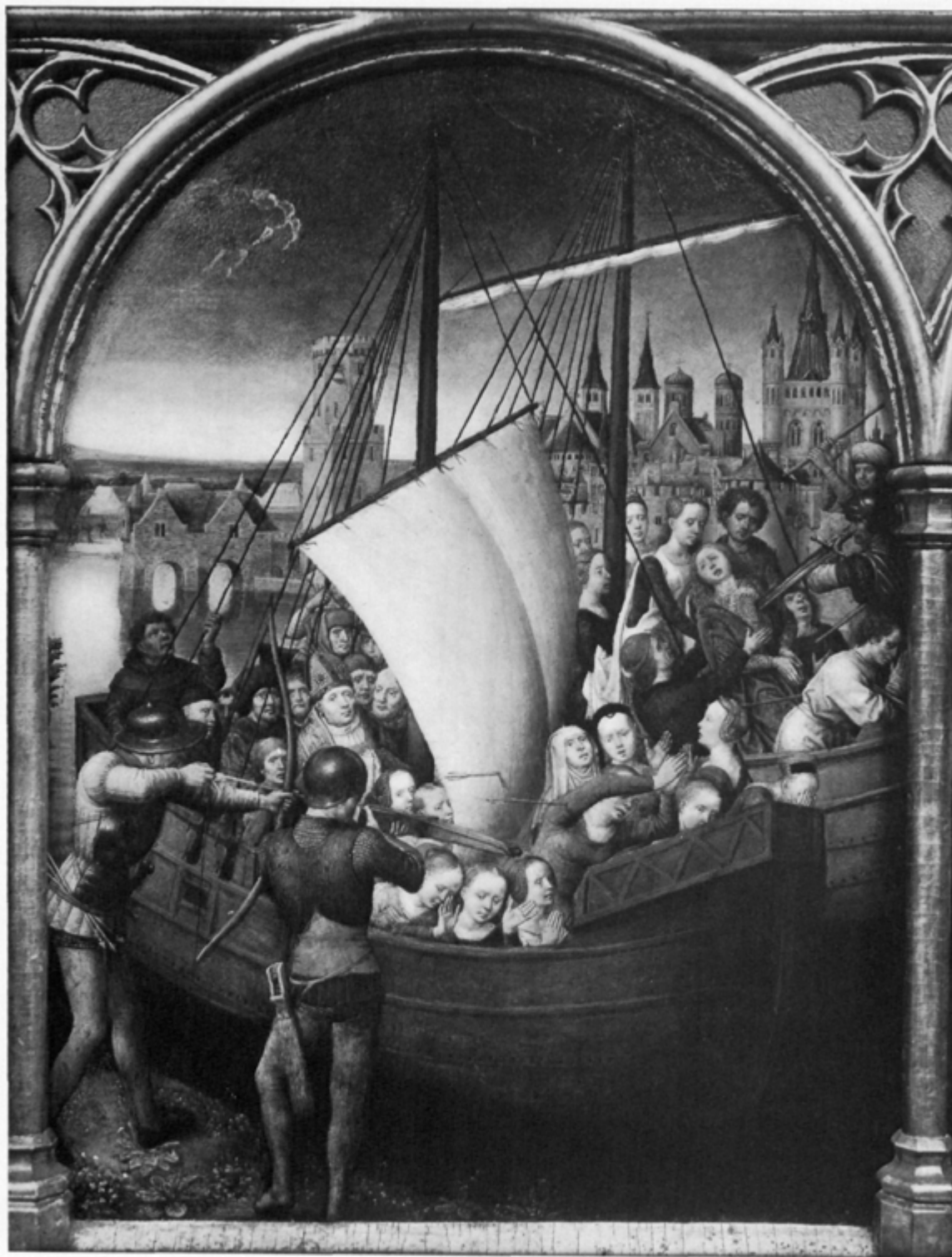
24. Memlinc. Shrine of St. Ursula. Landing in Basle. *Bruges, St. John's Hospital*



24. Memling. Shrine of St. Ursula, Reception by Pope Cyriacus in Rome. *Bruges, St. John's Hospital*



24. Memlinc. Shrine of St. Ursula. Return Journey, Sailing from Basle. Bruges, *St. John's Hospital*



24. Memlinc. Shrine of St. Ursula. Attack by the Huns at Cologne. *Bruges, St. John's Hospital*



24. Memlinc. Shrine of St. Ursula. Martyrdom of St. Ursula. Bruges, St. John's Hospital



24. Memlinc. Shrine of St Ursula. Virgin with Two Female Donors; St. Ursula. Bruges, *St. John's Hospital*



24. Memlinc, workshop. Shrine of St. Ursula. Medaillons on the Roof. *Bruges, St. John's Hospital*



97 | 25

97. Memlinc. King David, Fragment of No. 25. Chicago, Art Institute, Gift of Max and Leola Epstein. 25. Memlinc. Bathsheba Bathing. Stuttgart, Staatsgalerie



26. Memling. Annunciation. New York, *The Robert Lehman Collection*



27 | 28

29 | 30

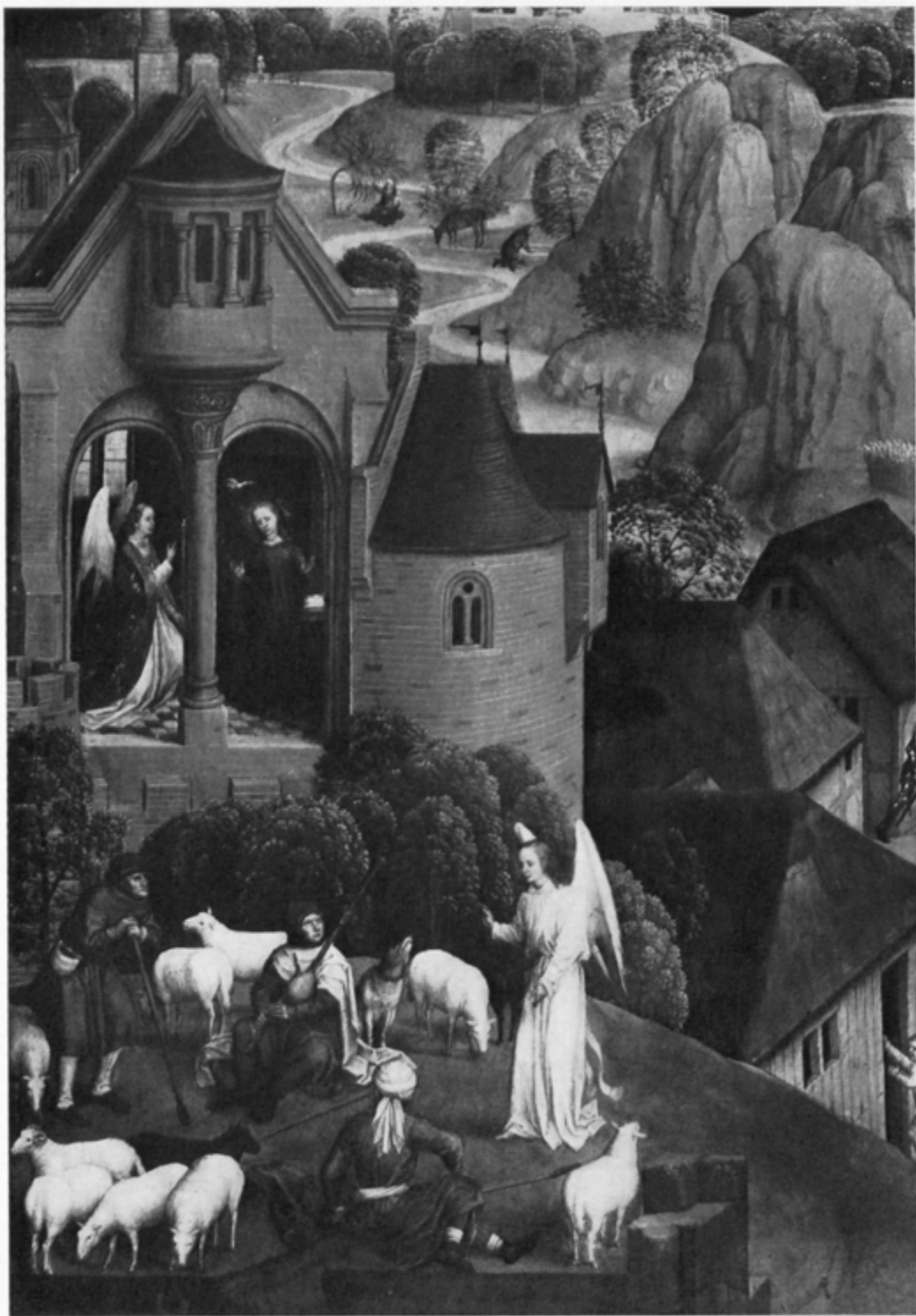
27. Memlinc. Virgin, Fragment from an Annunciation. Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection. 28. Memlinc. Nativity. Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, on loan from the Kunstgewerbemuseum. 29. Memlinc. Nativity. Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst. 30. Memlinc (?). Nativity. Granada, Capilla Real







33. Memling. The Seven Joys of Mary, Detail. Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek



33. Memlinc. The Seven Joys of Mary. Detail. *Munich Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek*





34
34a

34. Memlinc. *Passion of Christ*. Turin, *Galleria Sabauda*. 34a. Memlinc, copy. *Passion of Christ*. Williamstown, Mass., Lawrence Art Museum, Williams College (Kress Study Collection)

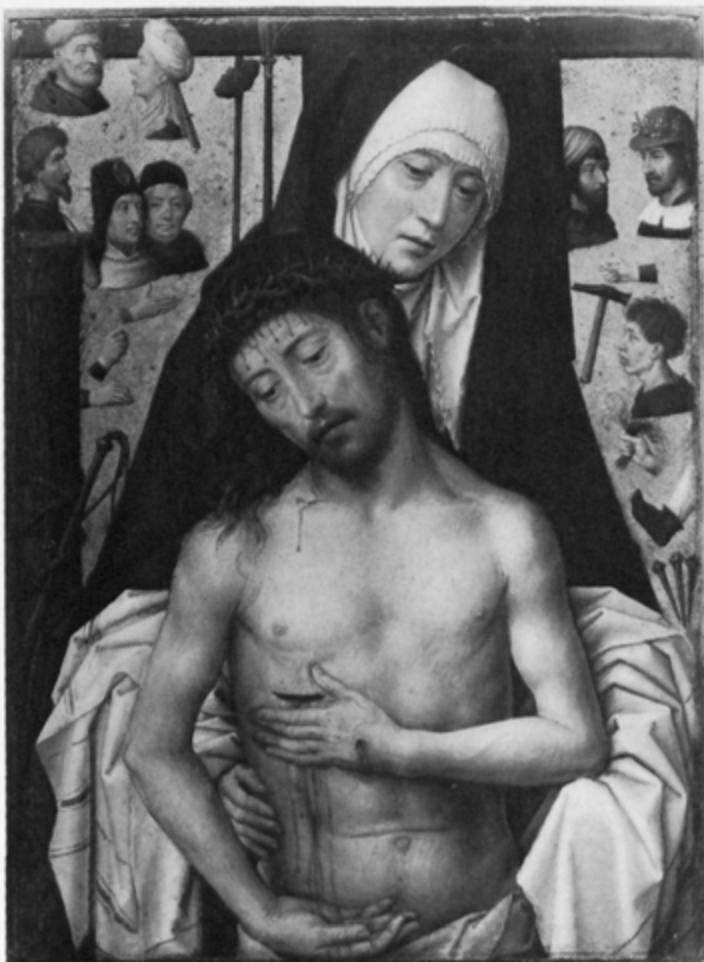


34. Memling. *Passion of Christ*, Detail. *Turin, Galleria Sabauda*



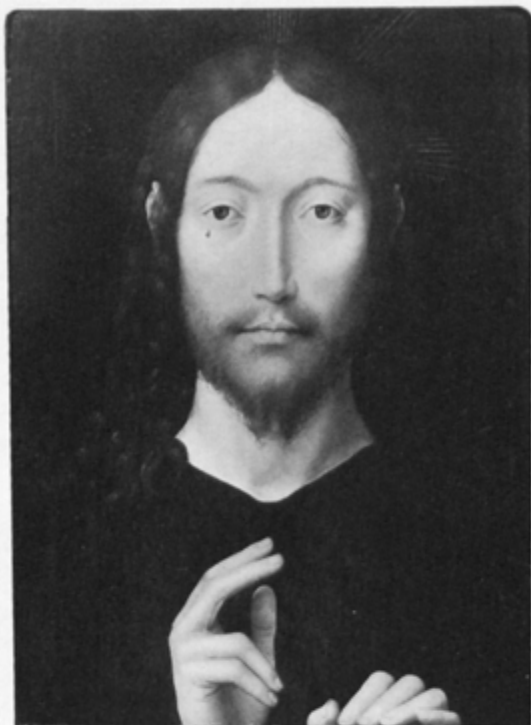
35
36 | 36A

35. Memlinc. Fragment from a Christ Shown to the People. *Maidenhead, Sir Thomas Merton Collection*. 36. Memlinc. Lamentation. *Rome, Palazzo Doria*. 36A. Memlinc. The Three Mary's at the Tomb of Christ. *New York, Lillian Malcove Collection*



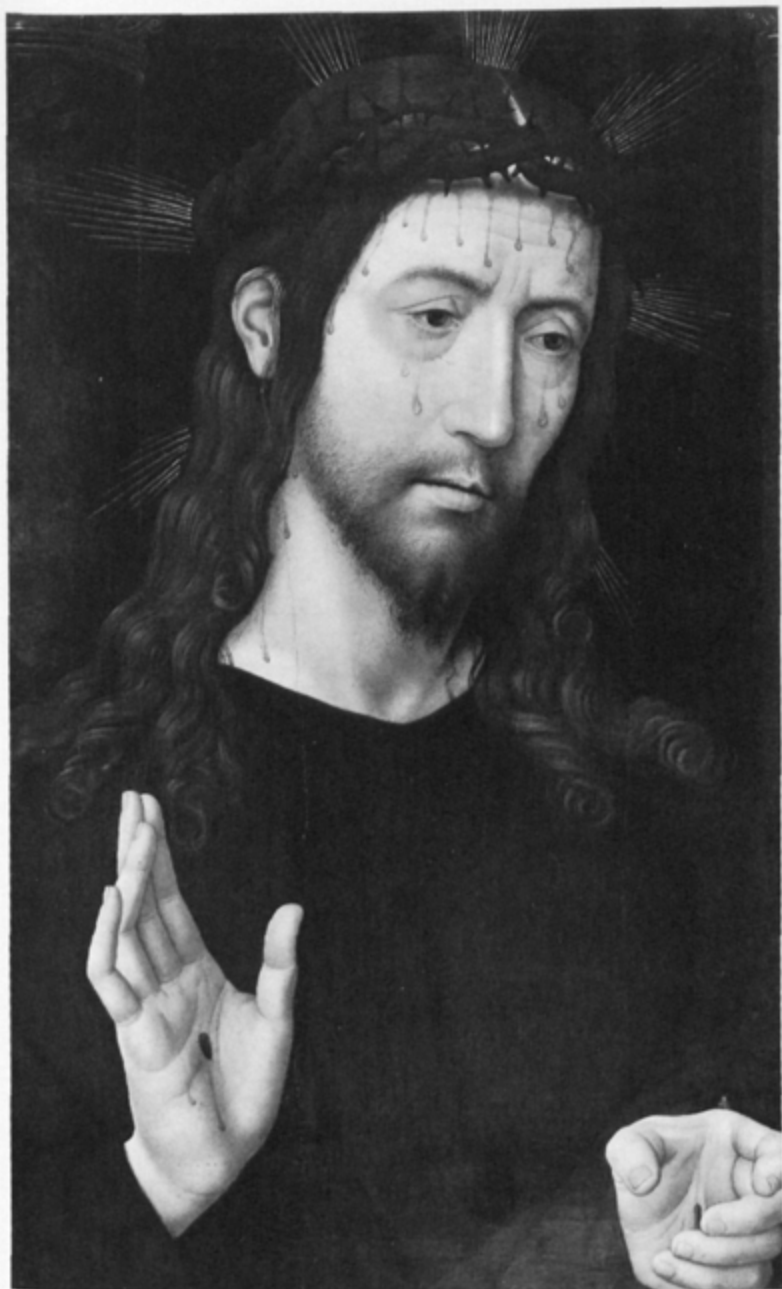
37
37a | 37b | 37c

37. Memlinc. *The Virgin with the Body of Christ*. Melbourne, *The National Gallery of Victoria*. 37a. Memlinc, replica. Granada, *Capilla Real*. 37b. Memlinc, copy. Bilbao, *Museo de Bellas Artes*. 37c. Memlinc, copy. *Present location unknown*



38 | 39
| Supp. 229

38. Memlinc. Christ Giving the Blessing. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Michael Friedsam Collection.
39. Memlinc. Christ Giving the Blessing. Los Angeles, Norton Simon Collection. Supp. 229. Memlinc. Christ Giving the Blessing. Topsfield, Mass., William A. Coolidge Collection



40 | Add. 259

40. Memlinc. Christ with the Stigmata. *Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection. Add. 259.* Memlinc. Christ with the Stigmata. *Genoa, Galleria di Palazzo Bianco*



41
41b | 41d

41. Memlinc. *Virgin Weeping*. Florence, *Galleria degli Uffizi*. 41b. Memlinc, copy. *Virgin Weeping*. Rome, *Galleria Nazionale, Palazzo Corsini*. 41d. Memlinc, copy. *Christ with the Stigmata and Virgin Weeping*. Strasbourg, *Musée des Beaux-Arts*





44. Memling. St. John the Baptist. *Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek*



46. Memlinc. St. Veronica with Reverse. *Washington, National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection*



45. Memlinc. Martyrdom of St. Sebastian. Brussels, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*





50 + 92

48 | 92

50 and 92. Memling. Diptych, Virgin and Child; Donor with Reverse, St. Anthony of Padua. *Chicago, Art Institute* (50, *Ryerson Collection*; 92, *Sachs Collection*). 48. Memling. Virgin and Child. *Luton Hoo, Beds., Sir Harold Wernher Collection*



51 | 51a
52

51. Memling. *Virgin Giving Suck*. Cleveland, Ohio, *Cleveland Museum of Art*. 51a. Memling, replica. *Virgin Giving Suck*. Antwerp, *Mayer van den Bergh Museum*. 52. Memling. *Virgin Giving Suck*. New York, *Metropolitan Museum of Art*, *Michael Friedsam Collection*



53 | 54

53a | 53c

53. Memlinc. *Virgin and Child*, New York, *Metropolitan Museum of Art*, *Jules Bache Collection*. 54. Memlinc. *Virgin and Child*. New York, *The Aurora Trust*. 53a. Memlinc, replica (by Master Michiel?). *Virgin and Child*. Budapest, *Museum of Fine Arts*. 53c. Memlinc, copy. *Virgin and Child*. Castagnola, *Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection*, *Schloss Rohoncz Foundation*



55. Memling. *Virgin Enthroned*. Granada, *Capilla Real*



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62 |

59. Memlinc. Virgin and Child Enthroned. *Kansas City, Mo., Nelson Gallery - Atkins Museum, Nelson Fund.* 57. Memlinc. Virgin and Child with Angel. *Present location unknown.* 62. Memlinc. Virgin and Child with Two Angels. *Madrid, Museo del Prado*



56. Memlinc. Virgin and Child Enthroned. Berlin-Dahlem, *Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*





61. Memling. *Virgin and Child Enthroned*. Florence, *Galleria degli Uffizi*



63. Memling. Virgin and Child Enthroned with Donor and St. George. *London, National Gallery*



64. Memling. Virgin and Child with Donor and St. Anthony. *Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada*

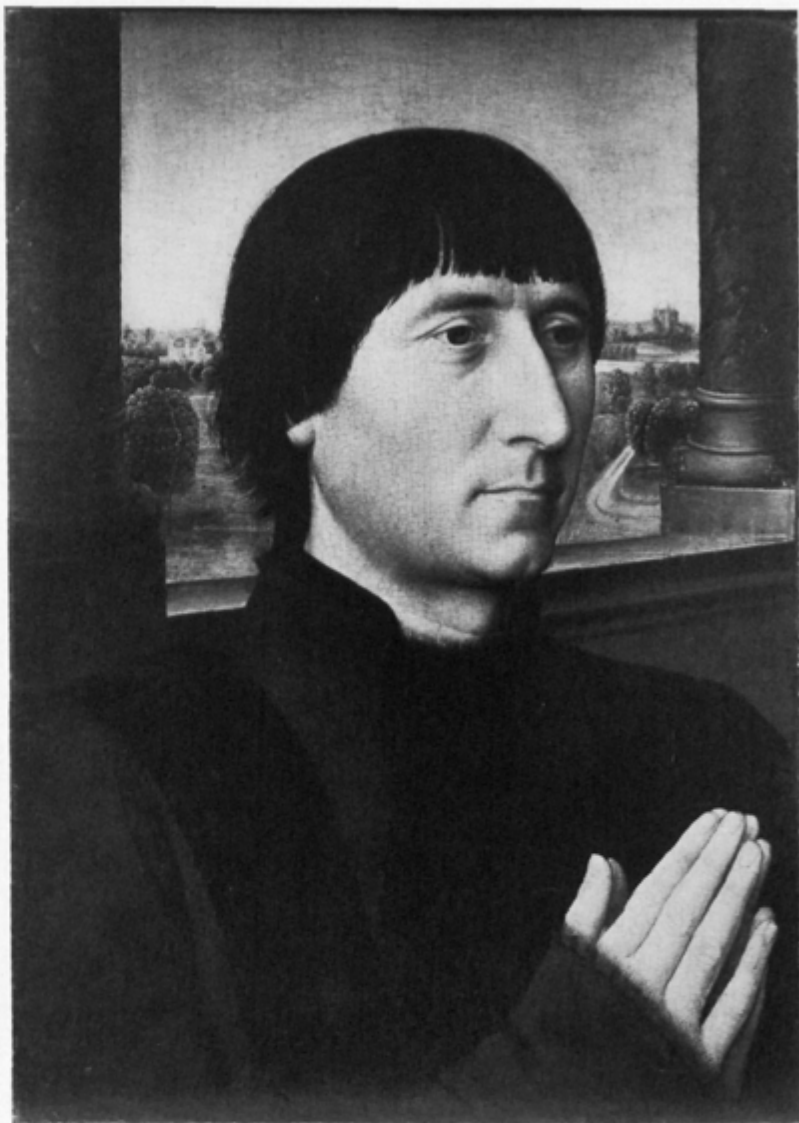


65
65a

65. Memlinc. *Virgin and Child with Angels. Saints and a Donor.* New York, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, B. Altman Collection.* 65a. Memlinc, copy. *Virgin and Child with Angels, Saints and Donor.* Venice, *Gallerie dell' Accademia*



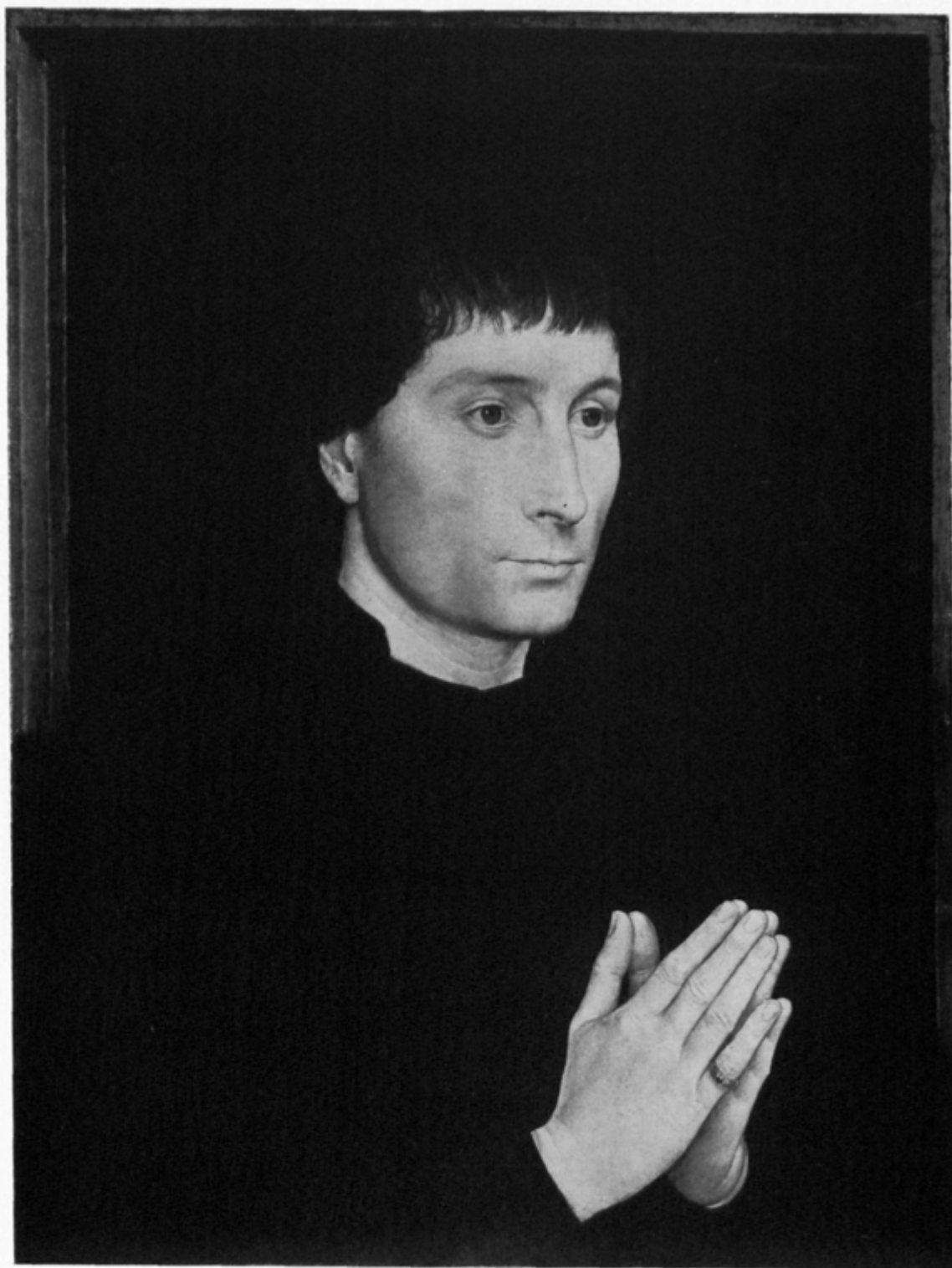
66. Memlinc. Virgin and Child with Jacob Floreins, his Family and Patron Saints. *Paris, Musée du Louvre*



67. Memlinc. Portrait of Willem Moreel with Reverse, Coat of Arms of Barbara van Vlaenderbergh. Brussels, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*



68. Memlinc. Portrait of Barbara van Vlaenderbergh, Wife of Willem Moreel, with Reverse, Coat of Arms of Willem Moreel. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*



69. Memlinc. Portrait of Tommaso Portinari. New York, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, B. Altman Collection



70. Memlinc. Portrait of Maria Maddalena Baroncelli, Wife of Tommaso Portinari. *New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, B. Altman Collection*

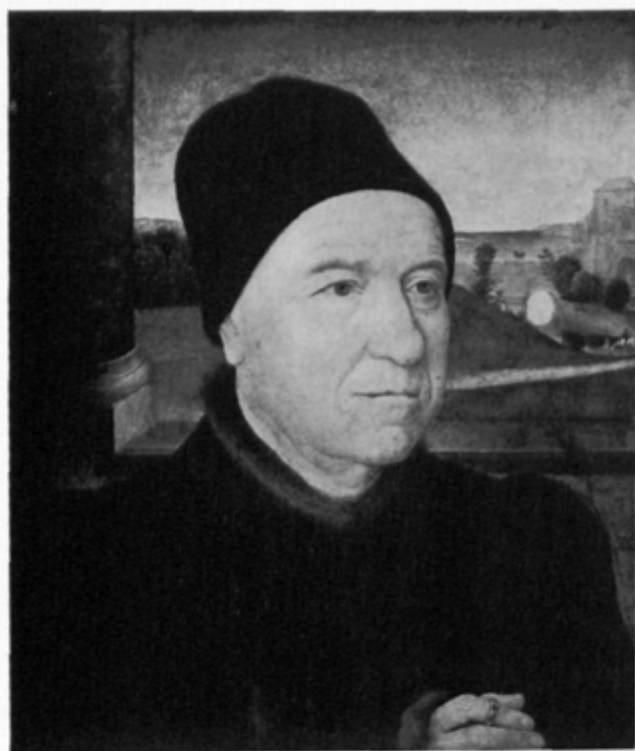


71
72 | 73

71. Memlinc. Portrait of an Italian. *Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*. 72. Memlinc. Portrait of a Man at Prayers. *Williamstown, Mass., Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute*. 73. Memlinc. Portrait of a Man. *Frankfurt, Staedelsches Kunstinstitut*



74. Memlinc. Portrait of a Man. New York, *The Robert Lehman Collection*



75 | 76

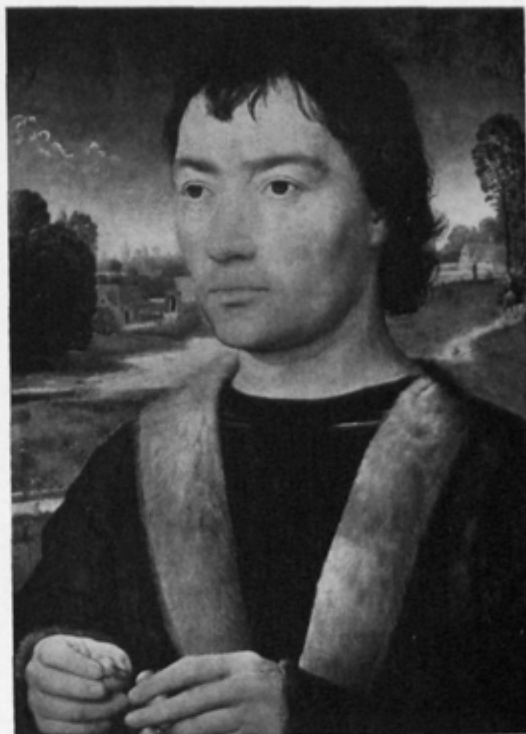
75. Memlinc. Portrait of an Elderly Man. *Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*. 76. Memlinc. Portrait of an Elderly Woman. *Paris, Musée du Louvre*



78 | 77
81 | 80

78. Memlinc. Portrait of a Young Man. London, National Gallery. 77. Memlinc. Portrait of a Young Man. Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia. 81. Memlinc. Portrait of an Old Man. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, B. Altman Collection. 80. Memlinc. Portrait of a Young Man. Montreal, Museum of Fine Arts





84 | 82
83 | 85

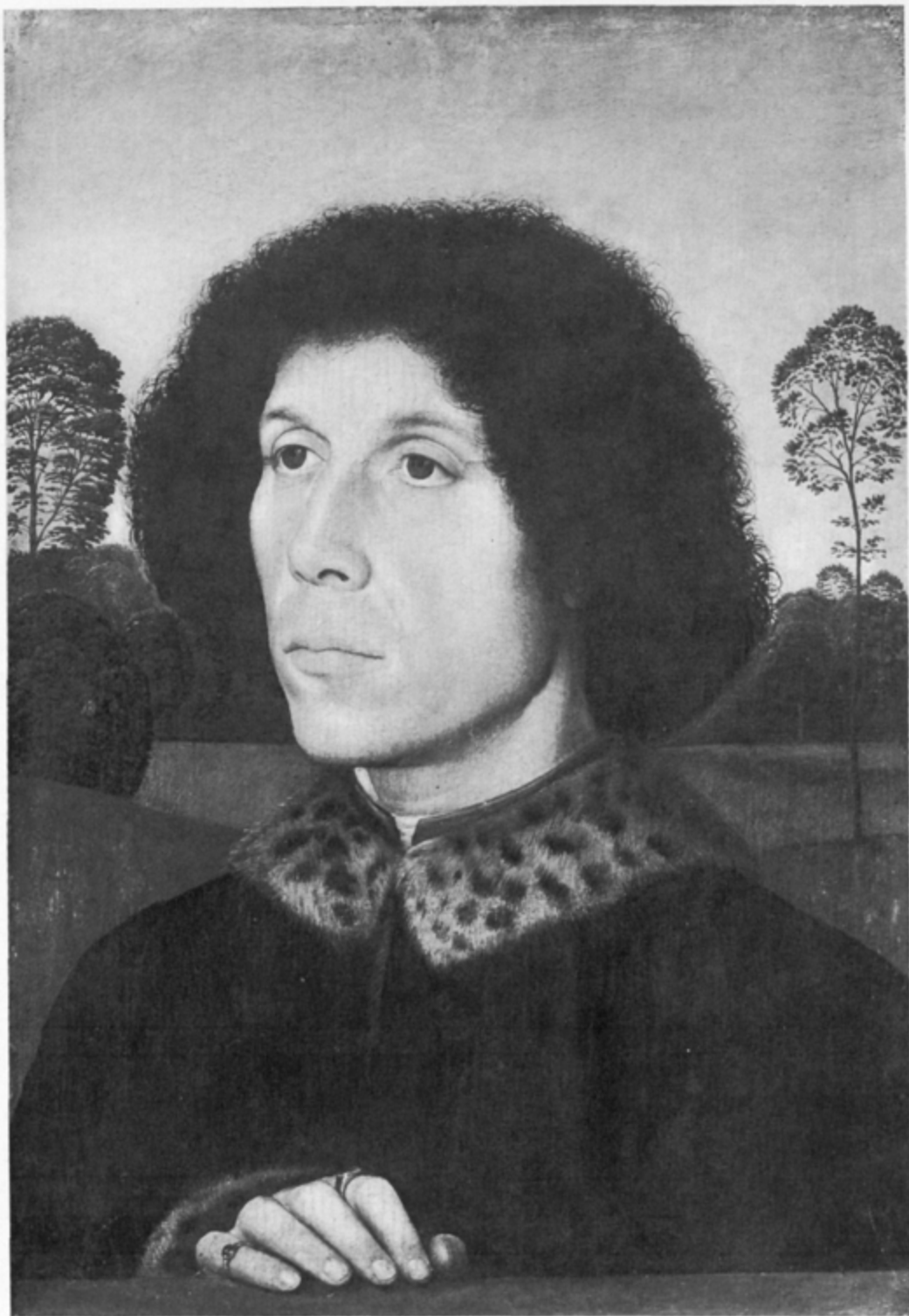
84. Memlinc. Portrait of a Man. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*. 82. Memlinc. Portrait of a Man with a Rosary. *Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst*. 83. Memlinc. Portrait of a Man with a Pink. *New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library*. 85. Memlinc. Portrait of a Man with an Arrow. *Washington, National Gallery of Art, A. Mellon Collection*



86 | 91

86a | 87

86. Memlinc. Portrait of a Man with a Cap. *Florence, Palazzo Vecchio*. 91. Memlinc. Portrait of a Man. *Windsor Castle, Royal Collections* (Copyright Reserved). 86a. Memlinc, copy. Portrait of a Man with a Cap. *Petworth House, Sussex, National Trust*. 87. Memlinc. Portrait of a Young Man. *Banbury, Upton House, National Trust*



89. Memlinc. Portrait of a Man. *Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi*



88 | 90

88. Memlinc. Portrait of a Man. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi. 90. Memlinc. Portrait of a Man. Disappeared during World War II



94. Memlinc. Portrait of a Woman. Bruges, St. John's Hospital



93 | 95

96

93. Memlinc. Portrait of a Mature Woman. Houston, Texas, The Museum of Fine Arts, E. A. and P. S. Straus Collection.
95. Memlinc. Portrait of a Woman. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, M. S. Harkness Bequest. 96. Memlinc.
Chastity. Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André, Institut de France



99A | 99C | 99B

Add. 262 | 32

Memling. Altarpiece of the Infancy of Christ. 99A. Annunciation, fragment. *Glasgow, Art Gallery and Museum, The Burrell Collection*; 99C. Adoration of the Magi. *Madrid, Museo del Prado*. 99B. Presentation in the Temple. *Washington, National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection*. Add. 262. Nativity. *Tiverton, Devon, Sir John Heathcoat - Amory Collection*. 32. Rest on the Flight into Egypt. *Glasgow, Art Gallery and Museum, The Burrell Collection*



100 | 98

100. Memlinc (?). *Virgin and Child Enthroned*. *Hayward's Heath, Sussex, Colonel Sir Ralph Clarke Collection*.
98. Memlinc (?). *Portrait of a Woman*. *Present location unknown*. Sketch Printed in the Catalogue of the Auction of the Collection of King William II of the Netherlands (1850, Lot 13)



101 | 102a

101 | 102b | 102b

101. Memlinc, copy. Portrait of James of Savoy, with Reverse. *Basle, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung*. 102a. Memlinc, copy. Portrait of Anthony of Burgundy. *Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen*. 102b. Memlinc, copy. Portrait of Anthony of Burgundy, with Reverse. *Chantilly, Musée Condé, Institut de France*



104

104 | A

104. Memlinc, workshop (?). Diptych, Virgin and Child, Donor and St. George. Reverse, Virgin and Child with St. Anne. Munich, *Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek*. A. Drawing after Memlinc. Virgin and Child with Angels. Ottawa, *National Gallery of Canada* (see note 73)



Plate
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104 b
104 a | A

104 b. Memlinc, partial copy. Triptych, Virgin and Child with Angels; two Saints. *New Brunswick, N. J., Rutgers University.* 104 a. Memlinc, copy. Virgin and Child with Angels. *Present location unknown.* A. Memlinc, copy by the Master of Kappenberg. Virgin and Child. *Formerly Vienna, Herzog-Csete Collection (see Note 73)*



105 | A
103 | 106

105. Memlinc, disciple. Triptych, Centrepiece, Investiture of St. Ildefonso. Worcester, Mass., Mrs. Aldus C. Higgins Collection; Shutters, Sts. Isidore and Leander. Valladolid, Museo Nacional de Escultura. A. Memlinc, imitator. Drawing with a Crucifixion. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins (see page 37). 103. Memlinc, copy. Portrait of a Young Man. Present location unknown. 106. Memlinc, disciple. Virgin and Child with an Angel. Eindhoven, Philips Collection

108 | 107
110 | 109



108. Memlinc, disciple. Virgin and Child. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Michael Friedsam Collection.
107. Memlinc, disciple. Virgin and Child. New York, The Robert Lehman Collection. 110. Memlinc, disciple.
Annunciation. Madrid, Mariano Vicente Collection. 109. Memlinc, disciple. Lamentation. Present location unknown



III | III

112

III. Bruges Master of 1490. Diptych, Virgin and Child, Donor. London, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, Lee Collection. 112. Bruges Master of 1473. Altarpiece of the Virgin. Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique



112. Bruges Master of 1473. Altarpiece of the Virgin, Right Wing, The Donatrix Maria Hose. Brussels, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*



113. Master of the Legend of St. Ursula. Two Shutters of an Altarpiece, Legend of St. Ursula, Church and Synagogue. Bruges, Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Groeninge Museum



113. Master of the Legend of St. Ursula. Two Shutters of an Altarpiece, Reverse, Church Fathers and Evangelists, Annunciation. *Bruges Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Groeninge Museum*



113. Master of the Legend of St. Ursula. Left Wing of an Altarpiece, Legend of St. Ursula. Bruges, Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Groeninge Museum



113. Master of the Legend of St. Ursula. Right Wing of an Altarpiece, Legend of St. Ursula. *Bruges, Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Groeninge Museum*



114. Master of the Legend of St. Ursula. Altarpiece of the Nativity, Left Wing, Visitation, Right Wing, Donor and St. Raphael; Reverse, Annunciation (Face with the Angel lost). *Detroit, Mich., Institute of Arts*



Plate
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115. Master of the Legend of St. Ursula. Altarpiece of the Virgin with a Donor, Left Wing, St. Mary Magdalene, Right Wing, St. Catherine; Reverse, Annunciation. *Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Gemäldegalerie, Alte Meister*



116. Master of the Legend of St. Ursula. Diptych, Virgin and Child, Donor and two Donatrices; Reverse, Crucifix and Chalice (Later Additions). *Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten*



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118. Master of the Legend of St. Ursula. Virgin and Child with St. Anne and Saints. Brussels, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*. 117. Master of the Legend of St. Ursula. Two Altarpiece Shutters, St. Paul and Donor, Christ Appearing to His Mother. New York, *Metropolitan Museum of Art, Michael Friedsam Collection*



120 | 119

121 | 121a | 121b

120. Master of the Legend of St. Ursula. Virgin and Child. *New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, J.P. Morgan Collection.* 119. Master of the Legend of St. Ursula. Virgin and Child with St. Anne and a Donatrix. *New York, The Robert Lehman Collection.* 121. Master of the Legend of St. Ursula. Virgin and Child. *Aachen, Suermondt-Museum.* 121 a. Master of the Legend of St. Ursula. Virgin and Child. *Present location unknown.* 121 b. Master of the Legend of St. Ursula. Virgin and Child. *Worcester, Mass., Art Museum*



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122 | 134

Master of the Legend of St. Ursula. Diptych (?). 122. Virgin and Child with eight Angels; Reverse with Monogram of Christ. Cambridge, Mass., Bush-Reisinger Museum, Harvard University. 134. Portrait of a Man, Reverse with Coat of Arms. Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection



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125 | 126

Master of the Legend of St. Ursula. 123. Virgin and Child. *Brussels, F. Heulens Collection.* 124. Virgin and Child. *Present location unknown.* 125. Virgin and Child with four Angels. *Los Angeles, Calif., County Museum of Art.* 126. Virgin and Child with an Angel. *Present location unknown*



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127. Master of the Legend of St. Ursula. Virgin and Child with two Angels. *Castagnola, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Schloss Rohoncz Foundation*. 128. Master of the Legend of St. Ursula. Virgin and Child with St. John the Baptist. *Hamburg, Kunsthalle*. 129. Master of the Legend of St. Ursula. Virgin Adoring the Child with St. John the Baptist and an Episcopal Saint. *Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*



130
131 | 132

130. Master of the Legend of St. Ursula. The Countenance of Christ. *Lugano, Wendland Collection.* 131. Master of the Legend of St. Ursula. St. Veronica with the Veil. *Paris, Countess Durrieu Collection.* 132. Master of the Legend of St. Ursula. Veil with the Imprint of the Face of Christ. *Venice, Pinacoteca Manfrediana*



Plate
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Add. 275 | 135

133. Master of the Legend of St. Ursula. Portrait of a Man. Bergamo, *Accademia Carrara*. 136. Master of the Legend of St. Ursula. Portrait of a Woman. Antwerp, *Mayer van den Bergh Museum*. Add. 275. Master of the Legend of St. Ursula. Portrait of a Man. Milan, *Castello Sforzesco*. 135. Master of the Legend of St. Ursula. Portrait of a Man. *Present location unknown*



137. Master of the Baroncelli Portraits. Altarpiece Shutters with Portraits of Pierantonio Bandini Baroncelli and his Wife; Reverse, Annunciation. *Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi*



138. Master of the Baroncelli Portraits. Female Saint with a Donor and two Women. *London, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, Lee Collection*



139. Master of the Legend of St. Lucy. The Legend of St. Lucy. *Bruges, Church of St. James*. Idem, Detail, View of Bruges



140. Master of the Legend of St. Lucy. Altarpiece of the Virgin with two Angels, Shutters, Donor with St. Peter Martyr and St. Jerome. *Los Angeles, Calif., County Museum of Art*



141. Master of the Legend of St. Lucy. Altarpiece of the Lamentation, Shutters, St. John the Baptist and St. Catherine; Reverse, Annunciation. Minneapolis, *The Institute of Arts*



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142. Master of the Legend of St. Lucy. Two Shutters, St. John the Baptist, St. Catherine. *Banbury, Upton House, Bearsted Collection (National Trust)*. 143. Master of the Legend of St. Lucy. Two Shutters, St. Adrian and Donor, St. James and Donatrix. *Present location unknown*



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144 | 150

146. Master of the Legend of St. Lucy. Virgin and Child. Baltimore, Md., *The Museum of Art*. 147. Master of the Legend of St. Lucy. Virgin and Child. Brussels, *J. van der Veken Collection*. 144. Master of the Legend of St. Lucy. Adoration of the Magi. San Diego, Calif., *Timken Art Gallery, Putnam Foundation Collection*. 150. Master of the Legend of St. Lucy. Virgin and Child. *Present location unknown*



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149. Master of the Legend of St. Lucy. Virgin and Child. *Williamstown, Mass., Sterling and Francine Clark Institute.*

148. Master of the Legend of St. Lucy. Virgin and Child. *Amsterdam, Private Collection*



151 | 152
152 A | 152 B

151. Master of the Legend of St. Lucy. Virgin and Child. *Genova, Marina di Stefano Collection.* 152. Master of the Legend of St. Lucy. Virgin and Child with two Angels. *Geneva, Private Collection.* 152 A. Master of the Legend of St. Lucy. Virgin and Child with two Angels. *San Francisco, Calif., Palace of the Legion of Honor.* 152 B. Master of the Legend of St. Lucy. Virgin and Child with two Angels. *Pittsburgh, Pa., Museum of Art, Carnegie Institute, Howard A. Noble Collection*



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153

155. Master of the Legend of St. Lucy. Virgin and Child with Saints. Brussels, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*. 153. Master of the Legend of St. Lucy. Virgin and Child with Angels. Zurich, *von Schulthess-Bodmer Collection*



154. Master of the Legend of St. Lucy. Virgin and Child with Saints. *Detroit, Mich., The Institute of Arts*



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157. Master of the Legend of St. Lucy. St. Catherine. Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection. 158. Master of the Legend of St. Lucy. St. Catherine. Pisa, Museo Nazionale di San Matteo

Early Netherlandish Painting

This new edition of Friedländer's monumental work 'Die Altniederländische Malerei' is based on the following principles: Friedländer's text stands unchanged in English translation. The catalogues are brought up-to-date, especially in respect of the location of the paintings. The total of 1260 illustrations in the original edition has been brought up to more than 3600. Concise editorial comments on recent research and notes on the individual works are placed at the end of each volume. An index completes each volume, and in addition a general index covering the whole of the 14 volumes will be incorporated in Volume XIV.

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- II Rogier van der Weyden and the Master of Flémalle
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- XIII Anthonis Mor and his Contemporaries
- XIV Pieter Bruegel—General Index

